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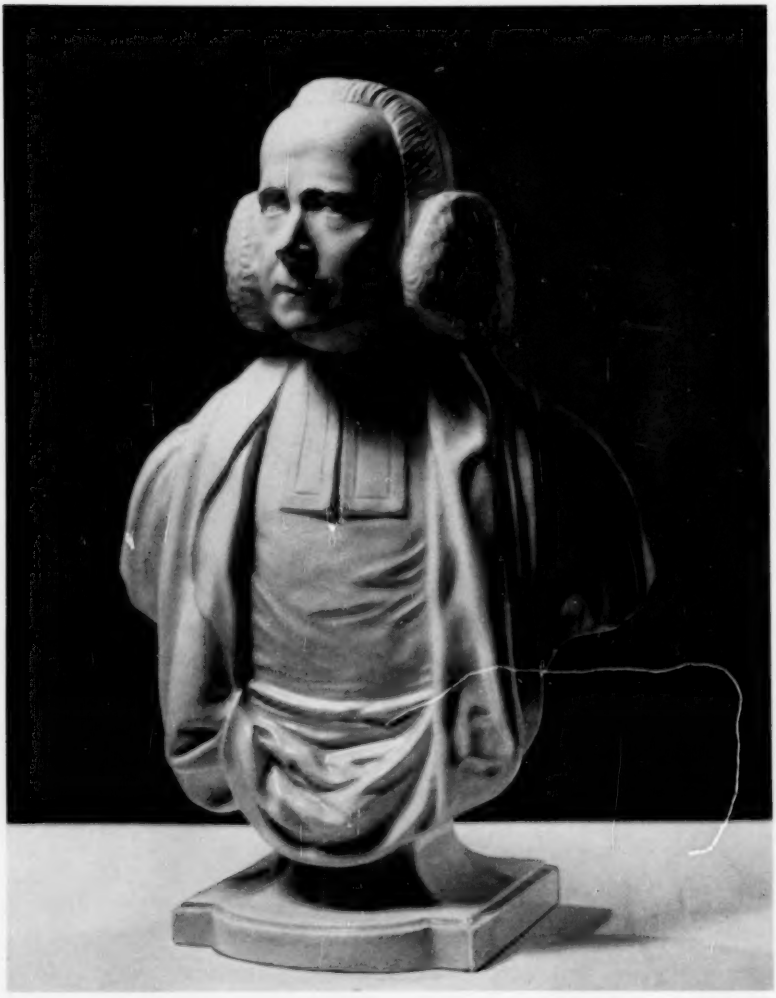

GEORGE WHITEFIELD [1714-1770]

THE
EMORY UNIVERSITY
QUARTERLY

VOL. XII JUNE 1956 NO. 2

Latin America and Anglo-Saxon America: Two Americas?

By LUIS QUINTANILLA

The third series of the John Gordon Stipe Memorial Lectures in Spanish Culture established by his classmate, Walter T. Candler '07, was delivered on April 2, 3, 5, by His Excellency Dr. Luis Quintanilla, Ambassador of Mexico to the Organization of American States, Washington, D. C. Distinguished as scholar, diplomatist, and author, Dr. Quintanilla has pursued a career that has familiarized him with both hemispheres and has made him one of the most perceptive minds and eloquent voices of the Western Hemisphere. The following address was delivered at the Pan American Dinner on Tuesday evening, April 3.

FOLLOWING roughly geographical lines we speak of two Americas, North and South: more exactly, an *Anglo-Saxon* America confined to the United States and Canada, and a *Latin* America embracing the twenty other republics of the hemisphere. This generalization has acquired such popularity that seldom, if ever, does one stop to consider whether it is valid or sound. To most people, the existence of two Americas is plain axiomatic truth.

Latin America occupies eight million square miles of territory, inhabited by some 175 million people. Anglo-Saxon America, in this case the United States, has a territory of three million square miles with 165 million population.

Frankly, if we begin differentiating, there is no reason why we should stop at just two Americas. Why leave out an English, or a French-speaking America, a Spanish or a Portuguese America, an Indian or a Negro America, a Catholic or a Protestant America? Not to mention the hybrid Americas: mestizo, mulatto, and zambo. All these are valid distinctions indeed. But however useful they might prove in a linguistic or a demographic description of America, they do not help us to understand America.

There is, in fact, no limit to the theoretical disintegration of America. For instance, modern analytical scholars have discovered two other brand-new Americas. I refer to the erudite distinction, not between North and South America, but this time between *Eastern* and *Western* America, an *Atlantic* and a *Pacific* America. This newest of all differentiations is certainly as valid as the others. It rests essentially upon the contention that Eastern America, facing the Atlantic and Europe, is different from Western America, facing the Pacific and Asia. The first looks to Europe, the second cannot look to Asia, because the Pacific Ocean is too much in the way. So Western America, facing the Pacific, must look into itself. Such is the interesting opinion of a subtle Colombian essayist, Germán Arciniegas. He claims that "one feels deeper within this [Spanish] tradition in California, speaking English, than in Buenos Aires, speaking Spanish," and that there is as profound a difference between New York and San Francisco as there is between New York and the rest of the Pacific cities of Latin America.

But of all the partitions of our hemisphere, it is a fact that none is more generally taken for granted than that between *Anglo-Saxon* America and *Latin* America. With naive simplicity, it divides the continent into: (a) an *Anglo-Saxon* America, materialistic, money-minded, and brutal; and (b) a *Latin* America, idealistic, generous, and gentle. So, in the drama of our hemisphere, the United States would play Sancho Panza to Latin America's Don Quixote. The things of the spirit belong to the Latins; those of matter, to the Anglo-Saxons. For many years, this continental dualism of Good and Evil persisted. The past record of "Yankee imperialism," accompanied by a ruthless disregard of the sovereignty of many Latin

American republics, contributed powerfully to widening this ethical breach.

Admitted that the twenty non-English-speaking hemisphere republics speak Latin languages and, furthermore, possess two other outstanding Latin legacies, the Catholic Church and Roman law, let us see how "Latin" are the populations and, therefore, the temperament of Latin America.

Roughly speaking, there are substantially fewer than thirty-five million whites in Latin America out of a present total population, for the twenty republics, of approximately 175 million. From 50 to 65 per cent of the populations of Paraguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua is of pure Indian blood. Honduras, Venezuela, Perú, Colombia, México, Panamá, and El Salvador are anywhere from 50 to 75 per cent mestizo, of mixed Indian blood. Haití is almost completely Negro, the Dominican Republic substantially mulatto, and Brazil or Cuba show also a great percentage of mulattoes. Only Chile, Costa Rica, Argentina and Uruguay—four "Latin" republics out of the twenty—are predominantly white.

In the face of these facts, it becomes apparent that the contention for a *Latin* America finds little demographic ground. I do not have before me the percentages of people of Latin extraction among the populations of the United States and Canada, but I can say that important sections of these two countries are, racially speaking, more Latin than the populations of many of the Latin American republics.

An outstanding Peruvian scholar bluntly said: "As far as I know, neither the Indians nor the Negroes came from Rome. So that the supposedly Latin tradition is another of the many fictions or one-sided interpretations utilized to smuggle in an intellectual contraband."

The truth is that the concept of a Latin America is a French creation—a brilliant name given by Paris to a vast cultural territory over which the genius of France claimed, for many years, an undisputed and well-deserved sovereignty.

Once freed from Spanish and Portuguese influence, the intellectual classes of what has become "Latin America" were gradually drawn into the dazzling orbit of French culture. Paris—*Ville Lumière*—became the intellectual capital of a Latin America. French

esprit succeeded where the massive lances of the Conquistadores had failed: it conquered the mind of Spanish-America. So irresistible was the spell, that for generations Latin Americans actually lived with their feet in the Western Hemisphere but their heads in France. For nearly a century, the highest emotional ambition of any cultured, well-to-do Latin American was to visit Paris and just stay there as long as he could.

At home we ate and dressed French, spoke and read French, thought and lived French. Never in history had a foreign capital so completely enthralled the minds of peoples from twenty republics of a hemisphere thousands of miles away. Without Paris, life was not worth living. Yet it cannot be said that we were content. We understood France. We loved it, as we still do. But we knew deep in our hearts that, in reality, not being French we were still without a culture. As Leopoldo Zea writes: "This is the core of our problem: we do not feel that we are the heirs to an autochthonous culture, the latter lacks actual meaning to us; and the one which, like Europe, means something to us, we do not feel is ours." We had lost contact with Spain and discovered France, but we had yet to find ourselves. That wandering stage, characterized by romantic melancholy, marks a transitional period in the evolution of Latin America; melancholy, because we knew that Paris was only a way station, not a terminus in our quest for culture. After its emancipation from England, the United States went through a somewhat similar trial, a painful gestation of national culture.

And yet we know that America *is,* that there is America. What are, then, the common elements of our America?

America is a continent. So conspicuous a fact has been disputed by sophisticated minds. Still, America is a continent. In comparison, Asia, Africa, Europe, and Australia are mere geographical fictions. America is the only continent totally one and distinct. The other four are crowded in the Eastern Hemisphere. America occupies, in solitary grandeur, the entire Western Hemisphere. It is free, horizontally and vertically, east and west, north and south, from ocean to ocean, and from pole to pole.

America is well-outlined, symmetrical, and graceful; powerful chest of Canada and the United States, tapering waist of Mexico and Central America, well-rounded Amazonian hips, slender legs of Argentina and Chile. Its topography is simple, logical. An almost uninterrupted range of lofty mountains, stretching from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego—Rocky Mountains, Sierra Madre, Cordillera—three Americas linked together: a gigantic palisade standing out against the Pacific. Eastward, the land gradually slopes down until it reaches the shores of the Atlantic, unfolding fertile plains—North American prairies, Middle American *llanos,* South American *pampas.* And spreading over those twelve million square miles, the world's largest lake and river systems—Great Lakes and Titicaca, the Mississippi and the Amazon, the Orinoco and the Plata; and two thunderous curtains of rushing water—Niagara, Iguazú—falling on the wide-open stages of America North and America South.

There are all kinds of climates in the Western Hemisphere. Quite frequently altitude corrects latitude; snowcapped plateaus combine tropical sunlight and thin mountain coolness.

Stately, powerful, unique: such is physical America, discovered by accident, named by mistake. Columbus discovered it because it stood in his way to India. A careless professor of cosmography is responsible for naming it after Amerigo Vespucci, boastful, unreliable sixteenth-century Florentine explorer. Originally the name was restricted to Brazil; later to South America. For a long time the Western Hemisphere was referred to as "Terra Incognita", "Novo Mundo", finally, America. But remember, it was only discovered, not invented. America was already very much there; only, Europe had not noticed it. Neither had aboriginal America noticed Europe.

America is a history. Again, that simple assertion has been disputed by subtle intellectuals. Following Hegel, some have repeated that America has yet *no* history; for it is still in a state of Nature, that anteroom of History. I know that America is a continent because I stand on its soil. I know that it is a history, because I am living one of its moments.

Many centuries before Columbus—in fact, before Christ—Aztecs and Mayas had built empires comparable to those of Asia Minor or Egypt. Still flourishing at the time of Conqueror Pizarro, the Incas had built highways and bridges, in a well-organized empire not unlike Rome. Today our hemisphere has the privilege of being both a monument to the past and a mold of the future: inscrutable past indeed, and unpredictable future. Centuries before discovery, there stood Mexico's Place of the Gods, Teotihuacán, glory of the Toltec Age. In Middle America, the Mayas of Southern Mexico, Guatemala, and Honduras had built Chichen Itza, Holy City of Feathered Serpent Kukulcán; Uxmal and Palenque; Quiriguá and Copán. To the South, pre-Inca civilizations had erected Machu Picchu; and there was Cuzco, imperial capital of the Incas, seat of the Temple of the Sun.

Following the discoverers, came English settlers and Spanish conquistadores. The Pilgrims found scattered nomads. The Conquerors had to subdue sedentary populations. The Pilgrims had left Europe for good, determined never to go back, eager to find a new life in a New World. The Conquistadores left Europe temporarily, intent upon going back. The settlers came to America in search of freedom and security. They and the pioneers built a new world with their own hands; they created a new life. The Conquistadores remained loyal to Europe, king, and church. They were more interested in transplanting an Old World than in creating a New. Their motives were different indeed, but they both made America. Anglo-Saxons brought invention; Spaniards, tradition. They did not compete with, but supplemented each other. An altogether new world would be as inconceivable as a tree without roots. In this hemisphere, two worlds found a common ground.

America's next historical moment, independence, saw us fighting together against a common foe, Europe. The simultaneity of our struggles for independence was more than coincidence in space and time; it was coincidence in feeling and purpose. First, we wanted freedom from Europe: then, Freedom!

Washington, Hidalgo, Bolívar, San Martín, and O'Higgins had been builders of nations. Builders because of another essential fea-

ture of America: freedom in order to build. Under Bolívar and San Martín, practically all of Spanish America won its emancipation from the mother country. North, Central, and South, it was practically *one* battle in which we shared one another's misfortunes and triumphs. We did imbibe much of the revolutionary spirit from Anglo-Saxon Americans, but on the other hand, as Professor Bolton has pointed out, the United States owes to its Latin American forefathers the independence of much of its territory.

In that gigantic struggle for the emancipation of some twenty new countries, we in the Americas helped one another. We may consider ourselves the veterans of a continental war. Yet our territorial freedom did not suffice. The next step was a struggle for democracy. Washington, Hidalgo, Bolívar, Sucre, San Martín, and O'Higgins had won territorial independence and nationality. Men like Jefferson, Morelos, Lincoln, Juárez, Martí, and Sarmiento gave us political freedom and democracy. Thanks to them, our hemisphere is entirely republican. The continent of freedom dedicated itself to the cause of democracy. Bolívar had presaged an America which would be "Mother of Republics." The dream of the Liberator came true. America is more and more what Bolívar wanted it to be.

America is a culture. Three hundred and forty million people (Canada not included) are still building it; men of all races and creeds, Indians, white men, and Negroes.

Our culture is not exclusive but inclusive. It should be richer than any other on earth, because it incorporates mankind. They all made it; there lies its originality. It is inaccurate to say that our culture is that of Europe, that it is "Latin" or "Anglo-Saxon." America is Europe *and* the world, not an addition, but a multiplication; not a sterile juxtaposition of disconnected cultures, but a dynamic synthesis.

Culture is like a symphony: the more instruments, the more powerful the orchestra; and the more powerful the orchestra, the richer can be the symphony. America's culture is a dialogue. Never was it meant to be a monologue. It claims no infallibility. We like to keep wide open the windows of our continent, so that the light

and the breeze may come in from all directions. Finally, we like to hear other peoples' voices and we want our own to be heard by them. American culture is human.

We are truly human when we share universal feelings. In fact, only then are we certain that we exist. The more we find in others, the more we know ourselves. America is rich in human material; that is why it is so authentic. We despise conventionalism, superficiality. We dislike automatism as well as useless complexity. We refuse to lose contact with simple, normal life. To sophisticated minds we may at times appear candid. Some Europeans have even called us childish. Let us be proud of our American candor. Far from being childishness, simplicity is maturity.

Dreiser's *An American Tragedy,* Dos Passos' *42nd Parallel,* Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street,* Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath,* and Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind* are voices of the hemisphere because they satisfy this American longing for authenticity. Even when United States writers of such talent as Pearl Buck or Ernest Hemingway deal with foreign lands, they remain true to the American naturalist tradition, by writing *The Good Earth* or *For Whom the Bell Tolls.* Latin America's outstanding novels are equally realistic: for example, Ricardo Guiraldes' *Don Segundo Sombra,* Euclydes de Cunha's *Os Sertoes,* José Eustacio Rivera's *La Vorágine,* Gregorio López y Fuentes' *El Indio,* Rómulo Gallegos' *Doña Bárbara,* Rubén Romero's *Pito Pérez,* to mention only a few. And the same must be said of our painters, sculptors, musicians, architects, dancers; and last but not least our many great poets, Latin America's Rubén Darío and North America's Edgar Allan Poe, to recall only two whose stature has not been surpassed anywhere at any time.

The culture of America is wholesome. I will say that America's culture is both horizontal and vertical. It *ex*tends and it *in*tends. It is horizontal in that it spreads to all men. And it is vertical in that, within each individual man, it affects his entire personality.

On this side of the world, we mean to live generously, authentically. For that end, America's continent, history, and culture are well-suited. In fact, so well-suited that they make it possible for

a dream of mankind to materialize. In spite of the multiple national differences, America has so coherent a personality that when it speaks, the entire world can hear one single majestic voice, a clear and mighty message.

America is a hope. And that hope is felt by all the peoples of our great continent.

History is a manifestation of life; it cannot escape change and, therefore, evolutionary or revolutionary progress. The characteristic of mankind is its eagerness for endless advancement. At times we seem to go backwards, and we probably do. But out of the struggle we always find ourselves ahead. Were it not so, we would have to proclaim that life makes no sense, because if we destroy our belief in mankind, there would be no use living. Rocks, plants, animals, and the human species take part in the amazing progress of nature. Nothing remains static, not even matter; much less living organisms. Men are always marching forward.

The American nations, whether North or South, whether Latin or Anglo-Saxon, have in this respect been privileged: wide-open spaces, vast resources, a wealth of people coming from all corners of the earth, of different races, religions and political opinions; a melting pot indeed!

In the American continent we are accustomed to think big. There is ample room for everybody. We are coöperative and understanding. There is no cynicism or skepticism among us. We are fundamentally optimistic and wholehearted. We enjoy exploring and building. We inherited this tendency from our forefathers, the English settlers and the Spanish conquerors. And whether by the *bandeirantes* of Brazil or the pioneers of North America, the seed of adventure was planted early in our American soil. We like to move and explore new territories and possibilities, whether material or intellectual.

We believe in the fundamental kindness and wisdom of the common people. We can become a continent of democracy if we remember that we started as a continent of freedom and social justice. Domestic and international conditions, dangerous motives of expediency, have frustrated too often our political and economic

evolution. The fight for integral democracy has not yet been won. There are still in our continent wild outbursts of prejudice and reaction. They serve to teach us that only those who make it their business to defend and promote democracy, deserve the blessings it can bestow upon them. Democracy was not given to us once and for all. Democracy is a continuous aspiration. It is a goal, and not a legacy. Should we stop moving in the direction of democracy, vested interests will take over and paralyze our possibilities for progress. A democrat is a soldier, not an indifferent spectator. He cannot close his eyes to social iniquities or perfidious encroachments upon human rights and individual freedoms. What unites us today on the American continent is not something we have achieved, but something we hope to enjoy, something we are striving for.

We are convinced that our American dream will become tomorrow's reality. It is only natural that, in the face of antidemocratic explosions, even the purest of heart begin to wonder whether we have not abandoned our great traditions, and whether the America of Bolívar, Jefferson, Juárez and Lincoln is a thing of the past. But as Americans we can never lose faith in our continent. The destiny of the Western Hemisphere is the common concern of all our republics. So great an enterprise is beyond the power of any single one of our countries. We can only win if we all play loyally our part. We may not see victory in our lifetime, but what matters is to sustain the battle. In this battle for a greater America, for a continent which can stand before the world as a force against evil, you can always be confident that Latin America will be more than willing to render its contribution.

It is only if we think and work for a better tomorrow, that all of us will deserve enjoying happiness today. The task is of such magnitude, that in the light of its implications, all our superficial differences between a "Latin" and an "Anglo-Saxon" America vanish in thin air. We have an opportunity to create a new America. We are determined, North and South, to make good use of it.

Others have built countries, we are building a continent. Tomorrow our continent will help to build a better world. And that day, America, yours and mine, will have fulfilled its destiny.

PHI BETA KAPPA SEMINAR
1956
Atomic Fission: Peril and Opportunity

For the past two years the Emory University chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, Gamma of Georgia, has presented a public seminar in connection with Alumni Day. The subject chosen for the first spring symposium, held on the afternoon of April 1, 1955, was "The Scholar's Search for Truth." Papers interpreting the purpose and significance of research were read by Dean Ernest C. Colwell, Vice-President of the University, Dr. Lynwood M. Holland, Chairman of the Department of Political Science, and Dr. Arthur M. Richardson, Director of the Division of Basic Sciences. Dr. Alfred M. Wilhelmi, Professor of Biochemistry, chapter President 1954-55, was in the chair. On Friday afternoon, April 13, 1956, was held a panel discussion on "Atomic Fission: Peril and Opportunity." Papers were presented by Dr. William H. Jones, Department of Chemistry, Dr. Charles D. Hounshell, Department of Political Science, and Dr. J. Harvey Young, Department of History, Dean Judson C. Ward presiding.

Nuclear Energy: Achievements and Potentialities

By WILLIAM H. JONES

MOST OF US remember the announcement in early August of 1945 that our forces had hit Japan with a new super-weapon, one whose destructive power was beyond anything previously dreamed. Few recognized that, in this event, the dawn of the atomic

age had indeed "come up like thunder" out of the Orient. And when, a few days later, we received the electrifying news of the Japanese surrender, our delirious horn-blowing was largely over the prospect of unrestricted purchase of roast beef, gasoline, and cigarettes.

In the weeks and months which followed, details of what had happened to Hiroshima gradually became available. In the Japanese war effort, a city the size of Atlanta had in a single instant been switched from an asset to a liability. Though some residence suburbs were sheltered by hills, in the city proper devastation was complete. Of the thirty-three fire stations, twenty-seven were knocked out. Three-quarters of the fire-fighting personnel were killed or severely injured, while at the same moment perhaps a thousand fires broke out. About a quarter of a million people were injured and needed medical care. But the medical officer in charge of public health was killed, and so was his assistant, and so was *his* assistant. Of 298 registered physicians, only thirty could report for duty. The one hospital left standing had neither roof, nor window frames, nor partition walls. The central power station was smashed, the telephone and telegraph exchange was destroyed, and the railroad station burned. Never had the mailed fist of war scored such a one-punch knockout on a major city.

Rescue teams moved in. The railroad was repaired, and trainloads of survivors were started north. At Onomichi, forty miles northward, was a large naval hospital. Soon it was filled, and its available supplies exhausted. Then succeeding trains bore their injured further north, until there too the medical resources were used up. Some victims were forced to continue twenty-four hours by train before they could be unloaded for treatment. Now that ten years have elapsed, the total picture in retrospect is still appalling. A single bomb was dropped, a modern city was struck down, and nearly a hundred thousand people died. Nor is it cheering to know that, in light of newer technical developments, the Hiroshima bomb is now as obsolete as the hand-crank telephone.

The new destroyer is of course the H-bomb, the "thermonuclear device" of the early announcements. This Goliath is based upon

the fusing of atomic nuclei, rather than fission, and fusion does not contribute a radioactivity hazard. The destructive force is vastly greater than that of the A-bomb—in fact, an A-bomb is used as the primer, to set off the main explosion. Moreover, H-bomb materials are not as scarce as A-bomb "makings," nor is the hydrogen bomb subject to any limit as to theoretical size. This would seem enough, but not so. In the explosion of this monster there is a tremendous release of neutrons; why waste them? The logical next step was to "soup up" the H-bomb; a proportion of common nonfissionable uranium-238 was added to its charge. This uranium absorbed the abundant neutrons, became fissionable thereby, and joined in the nuclear holocaust. This produced two main consequences: the force of the explosion was once again multiplied, and the radioactivity hazard restored with a vengeance. Indeed it was the latter factor which at once revealed the nature of the new bomb to nuclear scientists the world over, with the luckless crew of the fishing boat "Lucky Dragon" as the victims.

As to the force of the explosion, one would do well to carry indelibly in mind the color photograph from *Life* magazine. This aerial view showed only an extra blueness of the water at the test site, a hole in the floor of the Pacific, where once an island had been. We were awed to learn, ten years ago, that the Hiroshima A-bomb had the destructive force of 20,000 tons of TNT. But the super-H-bomb has revised our yardstick, for it is at least a thousand times as powerful. The explosive force of this bomb is 20 million tons of TNT, or "20 megatons" as the weapons engineer so matter-of-factly puts it. And the size of this bomb, remember, may be increased at will. As an aid to visualizing, suppose we undertook to ship 20 million tons of TNT in coal cars. It would take a 100-car solid trainload of TNT every ten minutes, day and night, for three weeks.

The aspect of nuclear weapons which most grips the public mind, however, is radiation. To the layman this is a strange, macabre, invisible force for evil. Some 15% of the Hiroshima casualties were due to radioactivity, and when these potent new forces were being first described to the layman, gamma rays and radiation sickness

seemed particularly malevolent. However, with nuclear weapons applied in the way they have been thus far, the radiation factor, though by no means negligible, has a psychological influence out of all proportion to its lethal effect. The greatest military effectiveness of both A-bomb and H-bomb has been as a super-explosive; the shattering concussion and the fires set by the flash have done most of the work. To this end both the design and handling of the bombs have aimed toward minimizing the radiation factor and maximizing the explosive force. An air burst at proper height gives greatest shattering effect on ground structures, while at the same time the ominous fission-product cloud rises high and spreads its radioactive dust thinly, and comparatively harmlessly.

But if desired, the radiation factor can be maximized, by methods that are simple and well-known. Even during Manhattan Project days over ten years ago I heard scientists at Oak Ridge talk privately of the C-bomb. Cobalt is a readily-available, well-behaved metal which forms many alloys useful to man. But when a neutron invades and merges with its nucleus, the result is cobalt-60. This new isotope is furiously radioactive, giving off a gamma ray of exceptional penetrating power. Moreover, its half-life is some five years, meaning that it will lose only half its radiation potency in the first five years (and half the remainder in the next five years, and so on). Knowing cobalt, and remembering that the nuclear explosion releases a vast cloud of neutrons, it is elementary to propose that an H-bomb be encased in a shell of cobalt. The explosion would vaporize the cobalt, the neutrons would move in, and the resulting cobalt-60 would be spread as radioactive smog for hundreds of miles. Friedlander and Kennedy, in their matter-of-fact college textbook, calculate that if an H-bomb were built of such size as to vaporize about "100,000 tons of cobalt, the product would be about 7,000 tons of cobalt-60. If this were evenly distributed over the whole surface of the earth . . . with no benefits of shielding or decontamination, every person in the world would be dead within a few years. . . . The technological capacity for this destruction is practically within our present means."

If we turn from scientific writings to the daily press for less

gloomy fare, we are not able to shake off our sense of foreboding. Within the last two weeks what do we read? AEC chairman Strauss announces another nuclear explosion in Siberia, the sixth in the last eight months. After top-level conferences, the incorrigible optimism of our Secretary of Defense falters for the first time; he does not announce that we are way ahead of our competition and can save some money by cutting back. Instead, he is moved to hope that, since the possibilities of nuclear devastation are now so apparent, surely no nation will plunge our planet into such a war. At this stage our feelings are somewhat brightened by a release from the Intercontinental Ballistics Missile program, revealing that one of our robot-controlled winged bombs has flown 2,000 miles, and its range will be extended. We now have definite plans to shoot such missiles at Ascension Island as a target, a six-mile-square dot in the South Atlantic, 5,000 miles away. The speed of these missiles will be up to 9,000 miles per hour, nearly twelve times the speed of sound. I gained some knowledge of this program two years ago, and was nearly incredulous to be told that these bombs will navigate their own way to the target, correcting their course by the stars. You may further have read the statement, whether accurate I do not know, that the Defense Department has already let its last big contract for piloted aircraft. The push-button era of warfare seems indeed at hand.

Having made this enforced pilgrimage through the tunnel of horrors and knelt at the throne of Moloch, let us hasten out into the sunshine. Man's conquest of the atomic nucleus is a seven-league stride in his progress toward controlling the vast forces of nature, and bending them to his desires. Slave labor, beasts of burden, falling water, the winds of heaven, the moon-lifted tides, the grimy coal and crude oil from the dark recesses of earth—he has commandeered them all. Especially has he reveled in the fossil fuels of coal, oil, and natural gas. These are not only high-intensity energy sources, they are at the same time the chemical raw materials for a fabulous procession of synthetics—dyes, rubber, fertilizers, textiles, and plastics, to name a few. So voracious have we become for energy, plus these "better things for better living" (modesty for-

bids me to complete the quotation) that these natural resources with which we are so blessed, will be used up within the foreseeable future. How will we then keep warm, much less produce the good things of life? It is here that nuclear fission will play its great, if transient, rôle. Transient because our supply of fissionable elements is in turn not unlimited, and can carry our civilization only so long. The fissionable materials however will, in the opinion of some of our best thinkers, serve to "tide us over" until we learn how to tap the sun for its energy—a project undertaken by Prometheus long ago.

The promise of nuclear energy is fascinating to contemplate. Compared to wind and wave, coal and oil *are* high-intensity forms, but compared to the fissioning nucleus they are low-grade indeed. A pound of uranium-235, a lump roughly the size of a golf ball, can furnish energy the equal of 1,500 tons of coal. This "golf ball" would propel the family car until it wore out—in fact, it would put 100,000 miles on each of more than twenty family cars in succession. With so concentrated an energy source, it becomes reasonable to contemplate interplanetary rockets, and our present airways may expand into a network of spaceways. Fantastic? Speculative, yes, but not fantastic; *that* word is outmoded.

The non-destructive developments already achieved are indeed marvelous, even though most of them have come about in connection with military objectives. Aboard the *Nautilus* man has ridden the atom, and the same power plant could propel a freight boat or passenger craft. This amazing submarine could go around the world without ever coming to the surface—*if* it only had the space to store sufficient food for the crew. After its shake-down cruise, the top navy brass coming ashore could hardly conceal their delight, so revolutionary was its performance. Its sister ship, the *Sea Wolf,* will have a nuclear power plant of somewhat different type, plus some changes in the shape of its hull. Since so little time will be spent on the surface, its designers logically have gone all the way in under-water streamlining. The *Sea Wolf* consequently will be faster submerged than afloat, and able to run down its intended victim, instead of lying in wait.

Nuclear propulsion of aircraft is tougher, but will undoubtedly be achieved very soon. Already the state police in a sparsely populated region of the Southwest have been briefed as to how to proceed, what safe distances to observe, and the like, in case a plane with certain markings should crash-land in that area. The indication now is that a nuclear power plant was being taken aloft in a conventionally-powered plane, to test the effect of various altitudes on its performance. However, the nuclear plane is certainly near. We in Georgia have been thrown into a pitch of excitement by the announcement that Lockheed will participate in the development of such a plane. That firm will build and operate for the defense department a facility in nearby Dawson County. A technical staff of up to 500 will be involved, and the total will certainly give strong impetus to the development of the project and of this region. We may expect the nuclear plane to be capable of sustained flight, limited, like the submarine, only by the needs of its crew. In fact, it has been facetiously pointed out that it would in any case have to come down every two and a half years, for the boys to re-enlist.

As suggested, the plane and submarine power plants, though military in objective, would be just as well content, and even more efficient, at generating our daily supply of kilowatt-hours. Gratifying progress has been accomplished toward making nuclear materials and know-how accessible to private industry, and on most generous terms, considering the billions in tax money invested. A number of groups, both privately and publicly financed, are moving eagerly into this field. In this race the advantage lies heavily with the giant industrial firms who have for years been operating, under contract, the various government-financed nuclear projects. Progress will be rapid, and estimates are made that in only twenty-five years, about 90% of the new power plants being then constructed will be of nuclear type. Unlike the plane and sub, these plants will be large in size, and designed for maximum economy. An important factor here is the success achieved in "breeding" fissionable material. In the controlled operation of a nuclear reactor, there is considerable wastage of neutrons by evaporation. It has been shown possible to surround the uranium-charged nuclear furnace with a blanket of

another element, thorium-232. Though not fissionable originally, these thorium atoms will absorb the otherwise wasted neutrons and become thorium-233, which is fissionable. Since thorium is more abundant than uranium, breeding has had the effect of multiplying our supply of nuclear fuels.

The antithesis of the breeder reactor is the package reactor. This type is of particular interest to me, having been developed by a different group in the same division with which I have had a continuing association in the Oak Ridge National Laboratory. Here the emphasis is not on fuel economy, but on convenience and portability. Highly enriched uranium, which is expensive, will be the fuel, and it will undergo rather quick burn-up. But the design has some features of compelling merit. Though the package reactor referred to is rated at 10,000 kilowatts, no piece of the equipment is too large to be loaded into an airplane, and the entire plant can be assembled in a comparatively short time. The Army's interest is obvious, when one considers the enormous hardships involved in supplying fuel to a military base on the Greenland ice cap, for instance. By contrast, the uranium to be loaded into the package reactor would make a lump the size of a grapefruit; this fuel charge would furnish the entire heat, light, and power for an Arctic base for two and a half years.

All the atomic power plants referred to thus far represent successful efforts to harness the A-bomb, in other words, to hitch nuclear fission to the plow. The logical projected question next is, how about harnessing the H-bomb? I had opportunity to ask this question two years ago of an acquaintance who is a nationally recognized authority, one of the key scientists of the original Manhattan Project. He grinned and said, "Well, if you had asked me two weeks ago, we could have talked about it. But since then I have taken part in a seminar on the subject, and a project is being formed, under security, to go into it." I have seen subsequent ads for scientists for this program; it is being pushed enthusiastically and already has had a dampening effect on the eagerness of private industry for investment in fission-type reactors.

The technical difficulties appear tremendous. Since this is a

"*thermo*nuclear" process, the hydrogen atoms would have to be first energized the equivalent of several hundred million degrees to start their fusion reaction. "No ordinary material," says the recent McKinney study, "can confine the reaction zone at these temperatures." However formidable the difficulties, the pay-off of the project would be so glittering we can't leave it alone; here is the exhilarating "wild blue yonder" of the energy realm. The materials for nuclear fusion are abundant, and the energy release is enormous. Larsen makes the statement that if the hydrogen in a single gallon of water were induced to undergo the fusion process, the energy release would be roughly equal to that now obtained from a gallon of gasoline. Thus if success is achieved, we may think, energywise, of all our lakes and oceans as made of gasoline.

Despite all its impressive accomplishments and astonishing potentialities in the way of practical applications, I would still say that the brightest promise of nuclear processes lies in the field of pure research. Through nuclear techniques so many new things can be done, so many questions, both new and age-old, can be answered, that it fires the imagination of the researcher.

Thanks to radioactive isotopes, we can for one thing detect quantities of material a million times smaller than we could before. For another, knowledge of the carbon-14 isotope has made it possible to establish the age of many ancient objects. A measurement of the small residual radioactivity present in a wooden implement from a cave dwelling, for instance, will enable the worker to calculate how long it has been since that wood was alive, and "breathing" carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. Through an extension of a related idea, other workers have been able to study the shells of marine mollusks long dead. In the growth layers of these shells, one can establish the date, and even read off the seasonal rise and fall in the temperature of the ocean bays or inlets in which these creatures lived many centuries ago.

In medical therapy these materials also contribute. Radioactive gold, phosphorus, and iodine are administered regularly, while strontium, ruthenium, and astatine are under investigation. Other isotopes produced by controlled nuclear processes are used as radia-

tion sources, either for making pictures or for direct therapy; examples are cobalt, cesium, europium, and thulium. More than one organization today has in its possession an amount of cobalt which gives off as much radiation as all the available supply of radium in the world.

The radioactive tracer continues to be one of the most versatile and productive techniques in research today. By this approach the experimenter mixes with the material whose action he is studying, say common salt for example, a small amount of the same salt which has been made radioactive by any one of several nuclear means. Except for being radioactive, this added portion is identical with the original salt in every way, and will follow the salt inseparably through whatever chemical processes it may go. Yet thanks to the tell-tale rays which this tracer is continually giving off, the investigator with his instruments can track the salt through all its wanderings, telling where it went, in what amounts, and how long it tarried there. To be more specific, radioactive phosphorus may be put in the diet of rats. This phosphorus will be used to build the phosphate of the bones, and the bones of the rat will become radioactive. The tracer diet is then discontinued, and the dwindling radioactivity of the bones checked at regular intervals. From the results one can calculate how long, on the average, an atom of phosphorus stays in the living bone, before the body discards it as worn out, and replaces it with a fresh atom. But for isotopes, we cannot visualize any method by which such a question could possibly be answered.

This brief summary will perhaps serve to present the main outlines of the picture, and to imply the numberless other applications which there is not time to consider. Moreover, the steeply accelerating pace of science in these times, with each new development breathlessly crowding the next, tells us that a real decision must be made, and soon. It should be apparent to all the race today that man can use this nuclear know-how for the satisfaction of unlocking nature's secrets, or for the pleasure of better material things, or for the endless sleep of oblivion. Like Aladdin, we have rubbed the lamp, and a genie stands before us. He will do our bidding, whichever it may be.

International Control of Nuclear Energy

By CHARLES D. HOUNSHELL

JOIN TOGETHER to control the A-bomb or face mutual annihilation! Thus the nations were warned a decade ago by the scientists responsible for splitting the atom. Yet today competing nations face each other with thermonuclear weapons for which the A-bomb is merely a trigger mechanism—weapons possessing destructive power undreamed of a decade ago—and there is still no agency of control.

The reason for this lies in the nature of international politics. Mankind is not organized as a single community but rather as a number of competing national communities called states. Politically active states are by definition engaged in a competition for power. This competition may take various forms, but an armaments race is one of its most concrete manifestations. What is at stake in an armaments race is the ratio of armaments—the relative power position—of the states involved.

The elimination or reduction or regulation of armaments has been possible only under certain conditions. Thus the United States and Canada could sign the Rush-Bagot Agreement because they were not engaged in a competition for power. Japan was forced to accept a ratio of heavy naval armament at the Washington Conference of 1922 that placed her in an inferior position to that of the United States and Great Britain, because the latter two countries did in fact possess a clear preponderance of power in these weapons. The Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935 reflected the fact that both Britain and Germany deemed it advantageous for a period of time to engage in a regulated rather than an unrestricted naval armaments race. On the other hand, the World Disarmament Conference of 1932 was unsuccessful because France wanted to maintain the existing distribution of power while Germany wanted to overthrow the

existing distribution of power. In the face of this unresolved political struggle no agreement on the ratio of armaments was possible.

Because of the nature of international politics, general disarmament has never been achieved. With the development of what was called by some the "absolute weapon," however, the problem of disarmament acquired a new degree of urgency.

The United States, Great Britain, and Canada, which states had collaborated in the development of the A-bomb, as early as November 1945 issued an Agreed Declaration recognizing "that the application of recent scientific discoveries to the methods and practice of war has placed at the disposal of mankind means of destruction hitherto unknown, against which there can be no adequate military defense, and in the employment of which no single nation can in fact have a monopoly." As one of its first acts, the General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting in London in January 1946, unanimously adopted a resolution creating an Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) consisting of the eleven members of the Security Council plus Canada and instructing it to make specific proposals for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons.

The curtain was raised on the first act of the AEC drama on June 16, 1946, with elder statesman Bernard Baruch of the United States playing the leading rôle. Mr. Baruch presented a four-point plan: first, there should be created an International Atomic Development Authority (ADA) which would be entrusted with all phases of the development and use of atomic energy; second, the manufacture of the bomb should stop; third, existing bombs should be destroyed; and, fourth, the ADA should be given full information as to the know-how for the production of atomic energy. The ADA would have managerial control or ownership of all atomic-energy activities potentially dangerous to world security, and the power to control, inspect, and license all other activities. In the enforcement of this system the ADA was not to be hampered by the veto. As Baruch phrased it: "The matter of punishment lies at the very heart of our present security system. It might as well be admitted, here and now, that the subject goes straight to the veto

power contained in the Charter of the United Nations so far as it relates to the field of atomic energy. . . . There must be no veto to protect those who violate their solemn agreements not to develop or use atomic energy for destructive purposes." The ADA was to be, in fact, a supranational government unhampered by the veto and possessing a monopoly on atomic weapons! This was indeed a far-reaching proposal, and one wonders if the United States would actually have gone through with it.

The second act starred Andrei Gromyko presenting the counter-proposal of the Soviet Union. According to this plan the first step should be the making of a convention outlawing the production and use of atomic weapons and requiring the destruction of existing stocks of atomic weapons. Then measures might be taken to establish a system of control of *national* production of atomic materials through *periodic* inspection, with any enforcement action to be taken through the Security Council and hence subject to the veto.

When the curtain was rung down on the drama in the AEC two years later, after more than two hundred meetings, the principal actors were monotonously repeating the same lines. The United States was contending that an effective system of control must precede disarmament in atomic weapons, while the Soviet Union was contending that the destruction and outlawing of atomic weapons must precede any system of control. The United States was arguing that the Soviet system of control could not possibly be effective, while the Soviet Union was arguing that the system of control advocated by the United States was violative of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and was really designed to give the "ruling circles" in the United States monopoly control of atomic energy throughout the world.

These arguments reflected the reality of the respective security situations of the two principal competitors in the arena of world politics. The United States had a stockpile of atomic weapons and presumably a temporary monopoly on atomic know-how, but otherwise it had virtually demobilized immediately after the war. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, supposedly did not have atomic weapons but did have a large conventional military establishment.

Thus the United States required a security system before it was willing to give up its superiority in atomic weapons, while the Soviet Union demanded equality in atomic weapons before it was willing to establish any kind of system of control. Security versus equality—the same arguments that were used a decade and a half previously by France and Germany, respectively, at the Disarmament Conference of 1932. The script was not a new one.

In January 1952 the moribund AEC and the Commission on Conventional Armaments were abolished and there was established in their place a Disarmaments Commission. The new agency merely provided a new setting for the old controversies and the old propaganda slogans. Still looking for some way out of the impasse, the Disarmament Commission established a subcommittee of five (Canada, France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union) to engage in private conversations. During the spring of 1954 this subcommittee held nineteen secret meetings in London with negative results. During the course of the next two years the subcommittee held fifty more secret meetings without any apparent success.

On the basis of reports from the current sessions of the subcommittee meeting in London, however, there is renewed optimism over the possibility that some agreement may be reached. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have made concessions, and the difference between the two proposals seems quite small. The United States has given up its insistence on the priority of the creation of the Baruch-model ADA, and the Soviet Union has dropped its demands for the immediate destruction of all bombs and the absolute prohibition of their use. The United States proposes that there be an agreement not to add to the stockpile of nuclear bombs and that there be a period of mutual "confidence building" through the establishment of an "open skies" plan for reciprocal air reconnaisance, the exchange of military blueprints, the exchange of disarmament commissions, and the creation of "test" disarmament areas. After mutual confidence has been created by such reciprocal inspections, an Armaments Regulation Organization should be set up by treaty among the participating states with powers of inspec-

tion and the right, on discovering violations, to suspend the treaty. The Soviet proposal, on the other hand, still provides that control be vested in an agency within the framework of the United Nations and hence subject to the veto. The difference between the two proposals is not insuperable in view of the apparent desire on the part of both parties to come to some agreement.

This new attitude reflects certain facts. The Soviet Union had broken the United States monopoly on the A-bomb in 1949 and had achieved a thermonuclear reaction very soon after the United States exploded its first H-bomb in 1951. It is estimated that the United States stockpile of nuclear weapons is ten times as great as that of the Soviet Union, but the important—and frightening—fact is that each of these states possesses the power to destroy the other. There would seem to be little point in continuing to add superfluous bombs to the nuclear stockpile. Both sides seem to have accepted the existence of a stalemate in nuclear weapons.

Nuclear energy was first tapped for military purposes and was devoted primarily to armaments until the major powers had reached a military stalemate. Until that time little progress had been made towards international coöperation for the development of peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The AEC had been directed to make specific proposals for extending between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends, and the Disarmament Commission had been directed to prepare proposals for effective international control to ensure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only; but the exchange of scientific information even between the United States and Britain was almost at a standstill, and the deadlock over the control of atomic weapons extended to the control of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

In the attempt to break the seven-year atomic energy deadlock President Eisenhower appeared before the United Nations General Assembly on December 8, 1953, and made his dramatic "Atoms-for-Peace" proposal. He invited the governments principally involved, including the Soviet Union, to make joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an International Atomic Energy Agency, which would be set up under the

aegis of the United Nations and which would have the responsibility of devising methods whereby the fissionable material would be allocated to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind.

In 1954 the General Assembly endorsed negotiations for the establishment of an "International Atomic Energy Agency to facilitate the use by the entire world of atomic energy for peaceful purposes," and approved the calling of a conference under United Nations auspices "to explore means of developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy through international cooperation."

In August 1955 twelve hundred and sixty representatives and advisers from seventy-two countries met at Geneva for the first International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy "to discuss, exchange and share their knowledge with the aim of harnessing atomic energy to the purposes of peace and human welfare." Currently representatives from twelve nations, including the Soviet Union, are meeting in Washington to draft a charter for an International Atomic Energy Agency. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have offered contributions of fissionable material to this Agency so that it can supply atomic fuel as well as scientific knowledge to the nations that have neither. Both major powers are also offering, outside of the framework of the United Nations, to assist other countries in their development of nuclear energy. The United States has initialed twenty-five bilateral agreements to export reactors at half-price together with the enriched fuel needed to operate them, and just last month the United States announced the sale of quantities of heavy water to Britain, France, India, Australia, Italy, and Switzerland.

What has happened? Apparently both the great powers have ruled out a major war, for the present at least, and have accepted the stalemate in nuclear weapons. Competition in armaments is being replaced by economic competition. In his speech to the Twentieth Party Congress, Khruschev openly challenged the West to engage in economic competition. Each of the major powers is attempting to extend its sphere of influence not by brandishing armaments but by offering economic aid and technical assistance to the underdeveloped areas of the world. In this "new cold war" atoms

can be used more effectively by putting them to work producing electricity in Afghanistan than by storing them in a stockpile of bombs!

The self-interest of the major powers, as well as world public opinion, seems to call for the use of atomic energy for productive purposes. Under these circumstances it is probable that the great powers might be willing to agree to limit the nuclear energy used for armaments so that it might be used constructively. Perhaps mankind will grasp the opportunity of realizing the unprecedented standard of living made possible by nuclear energy.

Man Is Still Here

By James Harvey Young

In a recent Charles Addams cartoon, a pair of unicorns stand on a rocky crag amidst the deluge watching the ark float off. It is a poignant scene. You can almost hear one of them neighing, "Oh, Noah, I don't want to be a might-have-been." In a certain symbolic sense, Noah did fail to take aboard the brontosaurus and the tyrannosaurus, the mammoth and the mastodon, the passenger pigeon and the dodo. And today we watch with breathless interest the race to the ark's gangplank not only by the whooping crane but also by modern man. "What a weak fragile thing man is before the forces of destruction." So wrote a Japanese doctor in his diary at Hiroshima.

In the highest order of the Universal Plan, perhaps it does not so much matter if man on Planet Earth is blotted out. Indeed, the universe is so vast and time so long, that the laws of probability are said to permit, somewhere, sometime, several other opportunities identical with those which brought man to rule this world. From a perspective less Olympian, however, we cannot help but feel that earthly man's extinction would be a disaster, and, if brought on by man's own willfulness, a disaster and a sin.

No one has written, so far as I know, an anatomy of annihilation, a history of the near misses that man has survived. Have the odds against him ever been so great as now? Perhaps there have been other moments of equal hazard, toward the beginning of prehistory, when men were few. Destruction is a primordial image in the collective unconscious, it would seem, and the mythology of all peoples is replete with terror. The Aztecs had a tale, inherited in essence from the Mayas, telling of four epochs in the world's previous history, each brought to a close by cataclysm. At the end of the first period, the sun had been swallowed by a jaguar, and in the resulting darkness the earth's inhabitants had been devoured by this beast. The second epoch had been terminated by hurricane, the third by fire, the fourth by flood. From each destruction there had survived one man and one woman to start life anew. The fifth age, in which the Aztecs then were living, was destined to meet its doom by means of earthquake. This is myth. Perhaps in the misty days of early time there were disasters so severe that mankind would have perished but for a new Adam and a new Eve.

In the Book of Revelation there are four dread horsemen. All of them, of course, are God's avengers. But two of them may be used to represent what man has chosen to term, in a special sense, the acts of God. The other two may signify the acts of men. Pestilence, the rider of the pale horse, and Famine, the rider of the black horse, are disasters from the natural order. There are others, of course, besides disease and starvation; the Aztec terrors form a somewhat basic list. These natural calamities have been so frightening through history because man has been so puny in the face of them.

> When the loose mountain trembles from on high,
> Shall gravitation cease, if you go by?

Man has been able to learn much about the laws of nature, and hence to regulate their impact on human affairs, but only to a degree. The limits of control are narrow. The stellar universe, as Toynbee points out, was the first to be understood in this way, and it is not yet within man's power to manipulate the stars. A year ago in London a scientist heard by radio-telescope the electromagnetic

sound of two great galaxies colliding in outer space so far away it took the reverberations a hundred million years to reach the earth. A gentle tap compared with this titantic crash could knock our globe from its orbit. There have been destructive meteorites, but mankind seems not to have been gravely threatened in this way, despite the imaginings of Velikovsky. Nonetheless, here is a kind of cataclysm man might be able to predict but not prevent.

Man has done some better in checking the rein of the pale horse of pestilence. Yet even before the miracle of modern medicine, there was no scourge I know of that came close to wiping out all of mankind. A perennial threat, from the shrouded days of prehistory, has been the plague. Often has it crept out of its remote Chinese lair to strike terror into the hearts of men. It fought against Athens in the Peloponnesian War. It assailed Rome and perhaps killed Marcus Aurelius. It stayed the advance of the Huns. Four times in the last fifteen centuries, the plague has spread with such fearful force as to become pandemic. The first of these onslaughts began during the reign of the Emperor Justinian. Next was the Black Death of the fourteenth century. A third protracted siege ran through the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, reaching a climax in the Great Plague of London, about which Pepys penned his fearsome diary entries and Defoe wrote his grim fiction. Last of all came the wave starting in 1894 and only now receding, which in the process terrorized our own West Coast and bequeathed to us an always threatening legacy. "There exists in the western part of the United States," writes a scientist on the staff of the Communicable Disease Center, "a vast reservoir of plague in wild animals which may never be entirely eliminated." The same is true in Africa, as well as in the plague's ancient Asiatic heartland.

There is still much mystery associated with the mutability of microbic infections and with the advent and recession of the great historic plague pandemics. During the recent one, however, tremendous gains were made. Scientists have learned how to control rats and fleas in urban centers and, through the use of vaccines and antibiotic drugs, to mitigate the plague's ravages in man. Thus it is unlikely, despite the continuing hazard, that there will occur a new pandemic as threatening as the earlier ones.

It was the third wave, which struck Europe at fullest force from 1346 to 1350, that was the most destructive. This vicious charge by the pale horse followed hard upon the sharp hooves of the black one. Several years of famine preceded the arrival of the plague in both its bubonic and pneumonic forms. The ravages were terrible. "Things had come to such a pass," wrote Boccaccio in the preface to the *Decameron,* "that there was no more care for dying folk than men would care nowadays for goats." Husbands forsook wives, and parents forsook children in their panic. An Irish friar described the melancholy scene: "That pestilence deprived of human inhabitant villages and cities, and castles and towns, so that there was scarcely found a man to dwell therein; the pestilence was so contagious that whosoever touched the sick or dead was immediately infected and died; and the penitent and the confessor were carried together to the grave. . . . I [am] . . . waiting for death till it come . . . so I have reduced these things to writing; and lest the writing should perish with the writer, and the work together with the workman, I leave parchment for continuing the work, if haply any man survive, and any of the race of Adam escape this pestilence and continue the work which I have commenced."

One more paragraph follows, and then an entry in another hand, reading: "Here it seems the author died."

In such an atmosphere and at a time when Roman rather than the new Arabic numerals were still the rule and when precise statistics had no real relevance to men's concerns, it was no wonder that the medieval chroniclers should make exaggerated estimates of the plague's mortality. These frightened guesses ranged from two-thirds of Europe's population upwards. Modern scholars say that the rate of death was most capricious, varying greatly even from village to neighboring village. But, all in all, during this handful of frightful years, from a quarter to a third of the people of Europe died of the plague.

This was an enormous disaster, the most destructive onslaught of a single disease, so far as I know, in Europe's recorded history. But it by no means killed all of even Europe's population. Although we may imagine a natural calamity that might eclipse all life, we have

not had one. Disease, famine, earthquake, fire, wind, and flood have wrought terrible havoc, but so far the extinction has not been total.

Conquest sits astride the white horse and War rides the red. These horsemen of the Apocalypse represent man's inhumanity to man. From the days of Cain there have been individual acts of violence. And seldom has organized war been absent from man's troubled habitat. In the last four and a half centuries, to judge from the tables in Quincy Wright's *A Study of War,* there have been less than thirty years of worldwide peace. Eight of these years have occurred in the span of time since our Constitution was drafted, two in our own half-century. Some of mankind's wars have been enormously destructive of human life. In the 1860's there was such a war, leaving the vanquished so crushed they have not yet recovered. The loser in this war was Paraguay. This small nation, led by an aggressive military dictator, madly challenged a coalition consisting of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. After some six years of savage fighting, peace was restored. Paraguay had had a population, at the beginning of hostilities, numbering some five to six hundred thousand. At the end of the war less than half were left alive. Two hundred thousand of the survivors were women and children. Twenty-eight thousand, mostly elderly, were men. The new Paraguayan generation, it is said, was sired by Brazilian occupation troops.

Other examples might be cited of small wars in which the rate of mortality has been as high. Mankind's fate, however, is more bound up with the growing destructiveness of the big wars. Wright's volumes contain tables, if they are needed, to establish that war has been getting worse. One table shows through the centuries the duration of battles in terms of days: they tend to get longer. It is possible that this trend might be reversed. In contrast to battles, the overall length of wars has diminished, a point Toynbee makes much of for gloomy prognostication, since the comparative brevity is coupled with increased fury. Other tables cited by Wright seek to demonstrate statistically, through casualty figures and other data, this greater intensity of war. There is no need to say more on this point.

Nor need we emphasize the paradox that man has used his clever-

ness at ferreting out nature's laws and manipulating them to his purposes as much for evil as for good. Two quotations and a recent incident will suffice. A half-century ago George Bernard Shaw let the Devil discourse on this theme. "Have you walked up and down upon the earth lately?" Satan asked, rhetorically.

> I have; and I have examined Man's wonderful inventions. And I tell you that in the arts of life man invents nothing; but in the arts of death he outdoes Nature herself, and produces by chemistry and machinery all the slaughter of plague, pestilence, and famine. . . . In the arts of peace Man is a bungler. I have seen his cotton factories and the like, with machinery that a greedy dog could have invented if it had wanted money instead of food. I know his clumsy typewriters and bungling locomotives and tedious bicycles: they are toys compared to the Maxim gun, the submarine torpedo boat.

More recently Arnold Toynbee has said the same thing, less dramatically perhaps, but with the advantage of having witnessed a couple of man's triumphs which Satan, as of 1903, had not yet seen. Writes the philosopher of history: "The successive discoveries of 'know-how' for navigating the air and splitting the atom in a society that had not yet rid itself of the institution of War had made it manifest to a technologically triumphant generation that the malignity of Leviathan 'is not in our stars but in ourselves.' "

The paradox as applied to the particular theme we are concerned with today struck me with new force recently through an incident in which the threatening uses and the helpful uses of atomic energy became locked in combat. I learned of this happily minor struggle in the pages of an article relating to the antiquity of man in the American hemisphere. Back in the early 1930's, archeologists opened up some sites in a dried-up wash near Tule Springs, Nevada. The finds were most exciting. In the diggings the scientists unearthed the bones of a number of extinct Ice Age animals, including camels and mammoths, sloths and long-horned bison. What was more significant, the bones were lying amidst the ashes and half-burned ancient wood of man-made fires. In the ashes with the bones were tools, crudely made of stone and bone and obsidian, but fashioned indisputably by the hand of man. There was no doubt in the archeologists'

minds that, during the Ice Age, ancient man had killed animals now extinct, had eaten their flesh, broken open their bones to suck the marrow, and tossed the remnants into the glowing embers.

In the mid-1950's, archeologists returned to the same sites. Science had made great strides in these two decades. There was now available a method by which the charcoal from ancient camp sites could be studied by the physicist, could have its radioactive carbon-14 emanations counted, could yield up much more accurately than by any previous technique the secret of its age. The archeologists collected some of the charcoal from the dead campfires at Tule Springs, But, alas, it was found the physicists could not use the sample to date the sites. Other scientists had fouled the trail leading back from modern man to his Pleistocene ancestor. The ancient charcoal was thought to be so contaminated by the fallout from atomic blasts exploded shortly before not many miles away that the secret of its age could not be learned.

Perhaps this is no great tragedy. And happily in this case it was not irreparable. For the charcoal had been gathered in the 1950's in an effort to confirm the results of an earlier test. Back in the 1930's archeologists had collected some of the ashes from the ancient Nevada campfires, hoping some day to learn the identity of the plants which had been used as fuel. The jars of ashes had been misplaced amongst the accumulated materials stored behind scenes in a Los Angeles museum. In 1954 by accident they were rediscovered in a locked closet. Sent to Dr. W. F. Libby of the University of Chicago, the charcoal was tested. Libby made his report. The ancient Nevada charcoal had lost all of its radioactivity. The campfire must therefore have been kindled more than 23,800 years ago.

This calculation, along with others that are being made, pushes back the date of man's residence in this hemisphere. He is now thought to have been here at least twice as long as scholars were estimating at the time, back in the 1930's, when archeologists were gathering up the ashes from the fires at Tule Springs. That they did so, and hence had samples to send to Dr. Libby, does in no sense destroy the irony inherent in the situation. The testing of

weapons using nuclear energy has made impossible, in one small case, the use of nuclear energy in the pursuit of truth.

So man, as often before, continues to confront the possibilities of disaster. History at least demonstrates this much, that, despite all the hazards of the natural order and his own perversity, man has not yet been destroyed. Not that each of us should not be sobered and humbled by the fate of all those who have perished, and still perish, through man's malice, his ignorance, and his failure to apply the knowledge he does have toward warding off threats from nature's realm. Not that the new challenge is not the most severe that man has been called upon to meet. But man, who has undergone so much, is still here. He has mind, he has conscience, he has will, he has soul. Therefore he has hope. "The essence of man," writes a zoölogist, "is his quality, not his quantity, and this is not the place to stop, halfway between ape and angel."

Atticus G. Haygood: Liberal Spokesman of the New South

By Judson C. Ward, Jr.

The presidential address for 1956 was delivered at the dinner-initiation meeting of the Emory chapter of Phi Beta Kappa on Wednesday evening, May 23, by Judson C. Ward, Jr., A.B. '33, M.A. '36, Ph.D. (North Carolina) '47, Professor of History and Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

Henry W. Grady is generally represented as the embodiment of the spirit of the New South which emerged after the Civil War and Reconstruction. In the year 1886 he immortalized himself and popularized the phrase "the New South" in an eloquent oration before the New England Society of New York. The address reflected a national patriotism which elicited an enthusiastic response from his Northern audience, as the speaker proceeded to eulogize Lincoln and to appeal for reconciliation between the sections. At the same time Grady endeared himself to his Southern constituents by his courageous defense of those who had supported "the lost cause," and by his graphic word picture of "the hero in gray with a heart of gold." His speech was designed to placate all but the most confirmed irreconcilables of both sections. The man, the hour, and the subject appear to have met, and by this one dramatic effort Grady won the title of spokesman of the New South. In this rôle he continued by tongue and pen to expound the ideas of the New South until his untimely death, which came only three years later before he had reached the age of forty.

This address summarized the principal ideas embodied in the philosophy of the New South, the chief ingredient of which was characterized as a new spirit of energy and hard work. The people were described as determined to build a new and better social order from the best traditions of the Old South. The freed Negro was recognized as more valuable than the slave. A new faith was proclaimed in the need for public education. A diversified agriculture was advocated as a substitute for the staple crop economy. A new interest was voiced in the development of natural resources. A pro-

motional campaign was projected to speed up the growth of industry. Agriculture and industry were envisioned as complementing each other in a total economy of balanced development. The peroration urged sectional reconciliation, and called on the North for aid and understanding in the problem of rebuilding the Old and fashioning a New South in the national pattern.

Despite his eloquence, however, Grady was not an original thinker. His rôle was that of interpreter and popularizer. The principal ideas embodied in the New South speech had been proclaimed by numerous voices during the two decades that intervened between Appomattox and the address before the New England Society. Among the first was that of Joseph E. Brown, Georgia's controversial Civil War governor, who urged a hasty reconciliation for the purpose of attracting Northern capital to reconstruct and develop the South. He was supported by the pen of Samuel Bard, editor of Atlanta's short-lived Republican newspaper, *The Daily New Era*. Grady's most eloquent forerunner was perhaps the brilliant but erratic Benjamin Harvey Hill, who provided the quotation which Grady used as the opening text of his New South oration. Even more famous than Hill was Sidney Lanier, who in 1880 published an article in *Scribner's Monthly* in which he described the New South as a region of small farmers rather than planters. Without doubt, however, the predecessor of Grady who has received least recognition was Atticus G. Haygood, Bishop of the Methodist Church, South, and eighth President of Emory College, who as early as 1880 preached at Oxford a Thanksgiving sermon entitled *The New South*. It has been claimed that Grady said he lighted his torch at Haygood's flame. The extent of Haygood's influence on Grady is not actually known, but the editor without doubt was acquainted with Haygood's writings, which mark their author as the most courageous and liberal of all the spokesmen of the new era.

Before 1880 Haygood's interests had been restricted largely to the problems of the Methodist Church, especially to education. Following his graduation from Emory College in 1859, Haygood had served in the pastorate until 1870, when he was elected Sunday School Secretary and first editor of all Sunday School publications

of the Southeastern jurisdiction. He displayed his characteristic energy and imagination in this position, and was soon elected Associate Secretary of the General Board of Missions. Mrs. Haygood's ill health, however, forced the removal of the family in 1874 from Nashville to Oxford. On December 2, 1875, Dr. Haygood was elected the eighth President of Emory College. During his presidency he struggled manfully with the difficult financial problems of the college, meeting with such limited success that he offered to resign in 1878. His duties were redefined, however, and he was persuaded to continue. Meanwhile the church honored him as a leader of broad understanding. He was elected fraternal messenger to the General Conference in 1880 and as a delegate to the Ecumenical Conference of the Methodist Church in London the following year.

It was the Thanksgiving sermon of 1880, however, that gave Haygood an opportunity to venture onto a stage broader than ecclesiastical and educational. In it he discussed the larger social, political, and economic issues of his section and thus launched his career as an analyst of the New South. He extolled the virtues of free labor over slave, saw progress in the tendency of small farms to supplant the plantation system, urged increased industrialization, and pointed out the need for immigration. He urged that the past be forgotten, that the people look forward to a new era, and that they work energetically to build a new order. His tone was optimistic, his attitude progressive, and his approach realistic.

One of the most significant aspects of the Thanksgiving sermon is the frank admission of the shortcomings of the South. Herein Haygood differs most markedly from his contemporaries, including Grady. He expressed keen gratification that slavery had been abolished. Indeed he held that slavery had been a curse to the antebellum South and charged this institution with bringing on most of her ills. Haygood admitted that the South had weaknesses: an intense provincialism (which he suggested as an important cause of the Civil War), illiteracy, lack of literature, inadequate educational facilities, and a mere beginning of industrialization. Such ideas were not calculated to soothe sensitive Southern feelings.

Although printed copies were circulated widely, there was little

immediate reaction to the sermon in the South. Its long-range effects on Georgia Methodism, however, were significant. The liberal ideas attracted the attention of George I. Seney, a Brooklyn banker, who eventually gave more than $250,000 to Emory and Wesleyan. These gifts were largely instrumental in putting the two colleges founded by Georgia Methodists on a sound financial basis.

In the meantime Haygood had published in 1881 *Our Brother in Black: His Freedom and His Future,* a book which presented an advanced point of view on the race question. Moderate by today's standards, the ideas were liberal if not radical for Haygood's time. Although received favorably at first in both North and South, this book was destined in time to inspire the pens of vitriolic critics. It is Haygood's most significant written work. In the fall of the same year Haygood spent three weeks in New England speaking in fifteen different towns and cities on the subject "The New South from a Southern Standpoint." This trip and its frank speeches on the South's deficiencies gave further ammunition to the critics.

In 1882 the General Conference elected Haygood to the episcopacy. In a letter of eloquent simplicity he declined ordination on the ground that he could not at that time give up his responsibilities as President of Emory College. A short time later, however, he accepted appointment on a part-time basis as Agent of the George F. Slater Fund, which had been set up by a Northern capitalist to promote Negro education in the South. In August 1883 Haygood made speeches at Chautauqua, New York, and at Monteagle, Tennessee, the tone of which was so liberal on the question of education for the Negro that the pent-up wrath of his critics literally burst upon him. He was accused of peddling ideas inimical to the South in order to secure Northern financial assistance to Southern educational institutions. He was charged with double-dealing in permitting his name to be presented for the episcopacy when it appeared he had only the intention of refusing it in order to accept a highly remunerative position with a Northern foundation. He was accused of "toadyism," "flunkyism," shameless hypocrisy, and selfish ambition. He was labelled as an incendiary stirring up strife between the races. One of his bitterest critics wrote: "He is today doing the

South and his people more harm than even Sherman and his torch." Thus after he had committed the two unforgivable sins of exceeding the bounds of orthodoxy on the race question and pointing out the deficiencies of his native region before Northern audiences, practically every act of Haygood became the object of criticism.

Despite the critics, Haygood continued to serve as President of Emory College and Agent of the Slater Fund. He was under constant pressure to devote full time to the work of the Slater Fund but resisted it until all debts of the College had been paid in full. After gifts from the Slater trustees had made Emory solvent, Haygood resigned the presidency on November 26, 1886. Having taken the reins of a small college struggling to survive the problems of War and Reconstruction, he left an institution with an improved physical plant, the beginnings of an endowment, a larger student body, and a strong faculty. Indeed Haygood's presidency may have been Emory's first modern administration. At any rate he saved the college from economic ruin and set her face toward a new era. Haygood has been criticized for introducing such vocational subjects as telegraphy, bookkeeping, and manual arts into the traditional classical curriculum. His innovations did not endure, but Haygood was far-seeing in his conviction that the manual arts must be encouraged in a society bent on industrial development. His error lay in his failure to understand the rôle of institutions with specialized functions.

During the remaining years of the decade of the 1880's Haygood worked with his customary energy at the gigantic task of improving Negro education under the auspices of the Slater Fund. He travelled thousands of miles and succeeded in channelling thousands of Northern dollars into Negro schools in the South. His pioneering work in this area has not yet been adequately recorded. Few Southern white men would have accepted his rôle. Haygood maintained that the Negro was capable of intellectual achievement, that suffrage for the Negro necessitated education, and that the education of the Negro was a national rather than a regional problem. He spoke out boldly in support of federal aid for education. Before Booker T. Washington he sought to encourage manual training in Negro

schools, because he believed that the first need of the freedman was economic independence. He was largely instrumental in persuading the Southern Methodists to establish Paine College for Negroes in Augusta. He encouraged Southern whites to teach in such institutions and castigated Southerners for the ostracism they imposed upon white people, particularly Northerners, who taught in Negro schools.

In 1890 Haygood was elected for the second time to the episcopacy and accepted ordination. He resigned his position with the Slater Fund and was assigned to the task of strengthening Methodism in California. His health soon failed and he returned to Georgia. He died on January 19, 1896, and was buried at Oxford.

Although Haygood's achievements in the field of education for both whites and Negroes have heretofore constituted his greatest claim to fame, it is in the broader area of social and economic ideas that his career as a liberal spokesman of the New South needs evaluation. The contrast between him and other New South leaders is of particular significance in view of the fact that modern historical interpretation has classified most of Haygood's contemporary exponents of the New South as extreme conservatives if not reactionaries. The political leaders in Georgia for whom Grady became the spokesman have been described as constituting an oligarchy who secured political office by fraud, intimidation, and the whip of white unity to insure white supremacy. From this position of political domination they set out to fashion a culture which would best serve their own personal and class interests. They dedicated themselves anew to state rights so that they might be permitted to solve the race problem in their own way. They talked of the free Negro as superior to the slave, but they sought to keep him in bondage to ignorance and poverty. They talked of diversification in agriculture, but they supported a system of tenancy which fixed on Georgia a staple one-crop economy. They talked sympathetically of the plight of the farmer, but they legislated for the big businessman-planter and neglected the interests of the small farmer and the tenant. They advocated economy in government while schools and other eleemosynary institutions languished. Meanwhile taxes were kept low and

were levied on land rather than on the new types of industrial and commercial wealth. Even in their advocacy of increased industrialization these leaders were willing to see the labor and the natural resources of Georgia exploited for Northern profit.

Haygood shared some of the basic beliefs of these New South leaders, but he appears to have interpreted the changes more intelligently and to have accepted them more realistically. Whereas most of these other spokesmen were seeking political office or public approbation, Haygood was not a candidate for office or favor. He, therefore, sought the facts more energetically, faced them with greater objectivity, and spoke more frankly and bluntly. He was obsessed by the basic belief that truth would make men free and emphasized again and again the importance of facts. He was more concerned with the present and the future than with the past. In this respect he differed from most of his contemporaries, who found it profitable to eulogize the Heroes in Gray and to shed an ostentatious tear for the Lost Cause. Haygood, however, rejoiced in the emancipation of the Negro and argued that it was more important to discuss his freedom than his previous condition of servitude. He emphasized such phrases as the New South, New Era, and New Departure, and urged optimism as Southerners built for the future rather than reminisced about the past. He also exhibited in his changing personal beliefs the quality of adjustability. He admitted without shame that he had changed his mind on a number of public issues. This leaves Haygood open to the charge of opportunism, but even though many other leaders were guilty, Haygood appears to have been sincere in his conversions.

Haygood also expressed his devotion to the Union. His patriotism was primarily national rather than regional or local. He opened one of his public addresses by pointing to the flag of the United States as he said: "I am glad that Georgia is on that flag." He sensed the great destiny awaiting a united people and preached national unity.

On a number of issues, however, Haygood clashed outright with his contemporaries. One of the blackest blots on Georgia's escutcheon is the convict lease system, which her new leaders promoted

and from which a number of them profited personally. Haygood was an outspoken critic of this system. In 1886 he addressed a meeting of the National Prison Association in Atlanta and used this platform to criticize this benighted system of handling prisoners. He spoke and wrote in support of the extension of land ownership. He maintained that landowners, whether white or black, made better citizens than itinerant laborers or tenants. He was an ardent advocate of greater tax support for public schools. His speech entitled "The Cry of Half a Million of Georgia's Children," delivered before the state legislature in 1888, had some influence in securing passage of a six-months school law. One of Haygood's most practical arguments for public education was the necessity that the voter whether black or white be able to read and write. Figures on illiteracy in Georgia always included Negroes as well as whites in analyses made by Haygood. He advocated federal aid for public education because he saw the problem as a national problem. Haygood was an outspoken foe of lynching. He applauded the fact that a white man had been hanged for the murder of a Negro. He was also an ardent prohibitionist before the adoption of a local option law. Haygood worked tirelessly for reform and progress, but he appears to have been convinced that the institutions most effective in producing change were the school and the church.

It was on the race question, however, that Haygood displayed his greatest courage and his most liberal attitudes. His ideas on this subject were presented in many sermons and speeches, but they are most concisely brought together in *Our Brother in Black*. At times Haygood exhibited a paternalistic attitude toward the Negro. He insisted on the necessity of separate schools for the welfare of both races. He concluded that manual training was the most desirable type of education for the Negro. At the same time the implications of Haygood's writings indicate a deep insight into the complex relationships between white men and freed black men, and lead to the conclusion that he favored more than a reluctant and niggardly acquiesence in the legal emancipation of the Negro from slavery.

Haygood recognized the Negro as a fellow human being and brother. This belief stemmed from Haygood's deep religious con-

victions. He argued for fair, honest, and noble treatment of the Negro as a neighbor and friend. This did not extend to equality in social relationships, but Haygood went beyond the practical rationale of self interest and based his pleas for fair dealing upon *noblesse oblige,* high ethical grounds, and specifically on the Sermon on the Mount. He saw in the Negro the same qualities as in other human beings, and explained many of the weak qualities identified with Negroes on the basis of cultural and economic rather than racial factors.

Haygood caught a glimpse of the destiny of the Negro race in the long corridor of history. He was convinced that slavery had been a part of the plan of Providence for bringing Christianity to the Negro race to prepare it for freedom. He maintained that it was foolish to talk about moving the Negro out of the South and colonizing him in the West or in South America or sending him back to Africa. Face the fact, Haygood argued, that the Negro is in the South to stay. If he were to migrate elsewhere in the United States, the problem would then become national. Haygood also maintained that the Southerners were the "fittest" people to deal with the race problem. He saw the South as the chosen field for working out "this stupendous race problem" that involved "the destiny of two continents." On many occasions he reiterated the point that the race problem as well as the problem of education was a national problem. This quotation is prophetic: "It seems very clear; this race problem is likely to be our problem as a Nation always. It is certainly, at this time, a problem that the whole people should, and that the Southern people must, seriously but calmly consider."

Although Haygood based his principal argument for Negro education upon his conclusion that Negro suffrage was a fact, he went further to point out the broader desirability of education. Citizenship, he said, is much more than the ballot. He was concerned that the Negro learn morality and many other qualities than the skills necessary to win for him economic independence. He urged support for education at all levels from local school district to federal government and from both public and private sources. Haygood was wise enough, too, to see that the Negro should not become the ob-

ject of charity. He himself should work to secure such things as education. The white man should help the Negro to help himself.

Haygood also differed from most other Georgia leaders in his point of view toward the Negro franchise. Although he admitted that there might be a question as to the wisdom of enfranchising all Negroes as suddenly as had been done, he accepted their right to vote as a fact that would not be altered. Instead of bewailing the fact or plotting to control the vote or frightening the Negro away from the polls, he urged for the Negro greatly expanded educational opportunities to enable him to assume his obligations as a citizen. He argued, too, that an illiterate white citizenry was as dangerous to democratic institutions as an illiterate Negro electorate.

Atticus G. Haygood was without question a man ahead of his time. He was a thinker of originality and independence. He was associated with the progressives rather than the reactionaries of his day, but he was more liberal than his progressive contemporaries. He possessed rugged personal qualities. He was forceful and direct. He was neither an eloquent public speaker nor a gifted writer, but his speeches and writings made a deep impression. His mind was tough. He gloried in facing facts and destroying illusions. His religious beliefs, too, were liberal for his day, but they drove him passionately to preach the brotherhood of man, the square deal for the underdog, and the submergence of personal, racial, and sectional differences in the larger framework of the welfare of the Union and the glory of God. There are numerous explanations as to why Haygood's importance has not yet been fully appreciated, but historians of the future are likely to redress the balance and recognize his significance. Even though he is not a typical or representative Southern thinker, he is an illustration of a progressive thinker and a courageous soul leading the way in man's toilsome journey upward. He was truly the most liberal spokesman of the New South.

The Negro Question in the French Revolution

By Charles A. LeGuin

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One of the more apparent incongruities of the French Revolution was the acceptance of the concept of natural equality and human freedom and, at the same time, the institution of Negro slavery. Like the men who prepared France for the Revolution, the men who made the Revolution were aware of this irrational duality. Riding the tide of rationalism and humanitarianism, the Revolutionaries were not only aware, they were ashamed, of the existence of servitude and racial inequality. They were determined to right this wrong along with the many others that demanded reform. The struggle to achieve full liberty, equality, and fraternity was neither an easy nor a short one, and often noble ideas were compromised by political exigencies. Still, the dilemma faced by the French Revolutionaries was solved without undue harm to the concepts of Revolutionary liberalism.

Had the French Revolutionaries been faced with a Negro problem only in continental (metropolitan) France, they would scarcely have had a problem at all. There were not many colored men in France; though it is impossible to ascertain the exact numbers, 20,000 colored out of a population of twenty-five or twenty-six million is the perhaps rather liberal estimate mentioned by some of the Revolutionaries themselves. Whatever their numbers, all colored men in France were free. Up to 1716, every Negro who touched the soil of France was free, and though this law lapsed, it was renewed in 1762. These free men of color were the equals of any other Frenchmen, and even a hundred years before the Revolution there was a conspicuous absence of color prejudice in France.

The Revolutionary conscience would have rested undisturbed had the island of San Domingo not been in French control. Here the situation both as regards numbers and civil status of Negroes was quite the reverse of the situation in France; here in the Caribbean was the thorn that periodically prodded the Revolutionaries to act on the Negro question. In 1789 the pure white population of the island was about 30,000; engulfing this minority were approximately one-half million men of color, more than two-thirds of them born in Africa. Of more importance than the ratio of blacks to whites was the fact that the vast majority of the islanders were in servitude. In 1789 there were approximately only 25,000 free colored men, including free Negroes and mulattoes, in San Domingo.

The position of the Negro in San Domingo was theoretically regulated by Louis XIV's Negro Code of 1685, an attempt to ensure humane treatment for slaves and to formulate the position of the mulatto in San Domingo society. The Code authorized marriage between whites and blacks, and specified that the ceremony freed the slave and the children of the union. Free mulattoes and free Negroes were given equal rights with white men by the Code. But by the middle of the eighteenth century the whites of San Domingo had virtually discarded this reasonable code: they were frequently inhumane to their human property, and they sought to harry and oppress the free colored men. It was apparent by the time of the Revolution that the home government could pass what laws it pleased; white San Domingo would go on doing as it pleased. And evidently the white pleased to make the position of the Negro wellnigh intolerable. There was little the slave could do but wait to die, or commit suicide, or escape to the mountain and join other escaped slaves, in bands known as "maroons," to harass the whites. Free mulattoes and blacks were, simply by virtue of their freedom, more obnoxious to the whites. Since they were too numerous to exterminate, the whites dealt with them in various ingeniously humiliating and malicious ways. Between 1750 and the Revolution, mulattoes were no longer automatically free by virtue of their white ancestor. A mulatto child's freedom or servitude was determined by his white father; he was no longer allowed his father's name; he was forced

to abandon European dress, and was refused to right of assembly. The offspring of mixed parentage were now pedantically subdivided into 128 categories. The true Mulatto was a child of pure black and pure white; a child of white and mulatto was a quattroon; the octroon, *marabou, sacatra,* were all carefully described by proportions of black and white. Even the *sang-mêlé*—127 parts white and one black—was still a "man of color:" the curse descended, Biblically, to the seventh generation.

Mulattoes and free blacks, many of whom were educated in France and were men of circumstance and ability, could not be expected to remain quiet under such moral persecution. When the Revolution came, they seized the chance to right the wrongs they suffered and to regain their rights of freedom and equality. They found French allies ready to espouse their cause against the white colonials. Indeed, as the concepts of liberty and equality began to reach even the ears of slaves, the free colored men found the attitude of the white colonial changing. Both mulattoes and whites had a common bond—property, including human property. Eventually the white colonist was willing to forget yellow skin when his black property was threatened.

The inhumanity of slavery and the injustice of racial inequality preyed on the minds of Frenchmen before the Revolution; it caused violent condemnations and eloquent appeals to pour from their pens; it led them to organize in defense of the Negro; and once the Revolution occurred, it led them to take positive action. The *philosophes* in general insistently propounded the equality of men, demanded the abolition of oppression, and prayed for the light of liberty to dawn. Some of them recognized and proclaimed the evils of Negro slavery. Montesquieu was among the earliest of these. In Book XV, Chapter 5, of *The Spirit of the Laws,* he treats ironically of slavery, lashing out against the abuse:

> If I had to support our right to render the Negroes slaves, here is what I would say: The Europeans, having exterminated the peoples of America, were obliged to enslave those of Africa, in order to clear the land. Sugar would be too dear if we didn't cultivate with slaves the plant which produces it. Those in question are black from head to foot, and have such a flat nose that

it is impossible to pity them. We can't imagine that God, who is very wise, has put a soul, especially a good soul, in a body which is all black. It is impossible to think that these people are men, because, if we suppose them men, one would begin to think that we ourselves were not Christians.

The Abbé Raynal bravely called for a slave revolution, with the passionate conviction that it was bound to come. Slavery, he felt, was the violation of natural liberty, "the right which nature has given to everybody to dispose of himself according to his will." Likewise in an outburst on the slave trade the *Encyclopedia* cried: "Let the colonies be destroyed rather than be the cause of so much evil!" And from across the Channel came the best summary of the Physiocrats' more strictly practical arguments for abolishing slavery. Adam Smith wrote in his *Wealth of Nations,* a book influential in France: "It appears from the experience of all ages and nations . . . that the work done by freemen comes cheaper in the end than that performed by slaves."

The general demand for liberty and equality, as well as the specific protests against slavery, needed some focal organization in order to achieve positive results. In the pre-Revolutionary period of increasing protest against all obvious abuses, it is not surprising that such an organization was formed. Apparently receiving inspiration from London, where Thomas Clarkson founded an Abolitionist Society in 1787, a group of French liberals headed by J. P. Brissot, a journalist-adventurer from Chartres, founded the Société des Amis des Noirs in February 1788. Among other charter members of the Society, which, like its British counterpart, aimed at the abolition of slavery, were Mirabeau, Condorcet, Lafayette, Lavoisier, Clavière, the Abbé Grégoire, and Robespierre. Brissot, who had seen slavery in operation during a visit to the United States, remained the leading spirit of the Society, edited its journal, and directed its agitation. Its propaganda spread rapidly; it organized a network of daughter societies, anticipating later Revolutionary practice; it corresponded with its English equivalent, though it quickly became more radical than Clarkson's Society. The colonists of San Domingo naturally were alarmed by the activities of the Society of the Friends of the Negro. But one must beware of think-

ing of the Society as a very great force in French politics. Propaganda before the Revolution was a relatively new weapon; many of its potentialities were unknown. Only when members of the Society got active political power after the Revolution began could they begin to achieve results.

How little influence the Society had before that time is shown by the *cahiers,* the letters of grievances taken by deputies to the Estates-General in 1789: very few of these mention the condition of the black. The few *cahiers* demanding abolition of slavery were from the clergy. Perhaps Frenchmen had too many grievances of their own to be concerned about the sufferings of the Negroes across the ocean; and possibly they looked upon the Sociétaires as eloquent but harmless philanthropists. The general evidence shows that metropolitan Frenchmen, even the maritime bourgeoisie with their interests in and ties with San Domingo, did not take the Society seriously. They might have done well to do so; for when the Estates-General met, among the deputies were Mirabeau, Condorcet, Pétion, the Abbé Grégoire. These men, especially Mirabeau, rose to great prominence in the Assembly. All of them were members of the Society of the Friends of the Negro; all were pledged to the abolition of slavery; and all of them were ready to take political action on the question of rights for men of color.

The incongruity of ideals and practices regarding the Negro was brought onto center stage on August 27, 1789, when the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen was decreed by the Assembly. The deputies were unanimous in their support of the Declaration so long as it was simply a nobly expressed theory; but it was soon apparent that certain deputies, notably those from the colonies and those with colonial interests, did not mean to apply it literally in practice. A schism developed between those who emphasized the Declaration's promise to preserve the natural and inalienable right of property (including slaves), and those who, believing with the Declaration that "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights," wished to see the rights of liberty, security, and resistance to oppression realized. Mirabeau led the attack on those colonial

deputies whose very presence seemed to him an affront to the sacred provisions of the Declaration.

> You claim representation proportionate to the number of inhabitants [on San Domingo]. The free blacks are proprietors and tax-payers, and yet they have not been allowed to vote. As for the slaves, either they are men or they are not; if the colonists consider them to be men, let them free them and make them electors and eligible to office; if the contrary is the case, have we, in apportioning deputies according to the population of France, taken into consideration the number of our horses and mules?

In his short speech Mirabeau had placed the whole case for the Negro squarely before the French Assembly. The deputies from San Domingo realized that they had tied their fortunes to the Assembly of a people in social ferment; and thenceforth the history of liberty in France and the history of emancipation in San Domingo was one and the same. In both cases, however, the story is a gradual one. Regarding the Negro, the first step was to restore their rights to the free blacks and free mulattoes; once this step was made, the Revolutionaries moved on to the abolition of slavery.

Despite attempts of the colonial deputies to keep the question of the rights of free colored men off the Assembly floor, on October 22, 1789, a group of mulattoes headed by Raimond and Augé, colored members of the Amis des Noirs, appeared before the Assembly to petition for the rights of their brethren in San Domingo. Though the President declared that no part of the French nation would appeal for its rights in vain, the only immediate result of the petition was a series of violent debates. The colonial deputies swore that granting equal rights to mulattoes would mean the financial ruin of the colonies, and threatened with the specter of slave-revolt, or conquest of the island by the English. These dire prophecies persuaded the Assembly to put the Declaration of the Rights of Man in its pocket for the moment. The more disinterested deputies, most of whom were members of the Amis des Noirs, continued the struggle. On December 4, one of them, Charles de Lameth, declared: "I am one of the greatest proprietors on San Domingo, but I declare to you that I would prefer to lose all I possess there rather

than violate the principles that justice and humanity have consecrated. I declare myself for both the admission of half-castes to their rights and for the liberty of the blacks!" As if to press Lameth's declaration, on January 30, 1790, the mulattoes again petitioned the Assembly. "Protestants, actors, Jews, the relatives of criminals," they said, all have received their political rights from the Assembly; why not the mulattoes?

The deputies representing the interests of San Domingan whites and the French maritime bourgeoisie now proposed that questions concerning the colonies be removed from general discussion and handed over to a Colonial Commission, consisting, of course, of ten merchants and ten colonials. On March 8, 1790, Barnave spoke in favor of such a commission, making proposals that would revolutionize the position of the French colonies, which hitherto had existed, as Colbert said, "by and for the Metropolis." Apparently forgetting that the Assembly had declared the colonies a part of the French Empire and subject to its laws, Barnave proposed that the colonists be allowed to work out their own problems, frame their own constitution, and modify the mercantile system as they saw fit; "the colonists and their property" were to be placed under the special safeguard of the nation, and it would be considered a crime against the state to incite opposition to "any form of commerce with the colonies," meaning, of course, the slave trade. Such proposals delighted the opponents of Negro rights, but appeared arch-reactionary to the Amis des Noirs and the devoted supporters of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The ready acceptance of Barnave's suggestions by the Assembly marked the low point in the struggle for Negro rights. The law embodying Barnave's proposals (March 8, 1790) was not allowed to go unchallenged. The Abbé Grégoire continued to speak vigorously against it even after it had been sent to San Domingo to be put into effect, and the mulatto Augé, with the consent if not the instigation of the Amis des Noirs, left Paris to lead an insurrection in San Domingo.

The question of the civil rights of colored men remained in this tense condition for over a year; then suddenly in April 1791 the problem was thrust forward again by the news of Augé's capture,

torture, and death, and of the troubled state of affairs in San Domingo. On April 7 the colonial question again was opened in the Assembly, and in the long and spectacular debates which followed, it was Robespierre who best made the deputies aware of the dangerous game they were playing in so flagrantly compromising Revolutionary principles, and called them to defend the Rights of Man abroad as the best defense of them at home.

> You endlessly invoke the Rights of Man, but you believe in them so little that you have sanctioned slavery by law. The supreme interest of the nation and of the colonies is that you remain free and that you do not overturn with your own hands the foundations of liberty. Let the colonies perish, if the price is to be our happiness, our glory, our liberty.

Both sides presented every example to strengthen their claims, often using the same examples to opposite purposes. For example, the Friends of the Negroes argued that mulattoes ought to have the same rights as whites—"all the more so since they are sons of Frenchmen"—while the colonial deputies argued that they should be denied these rights since they were sons of slaves. The decisive factor in the struggle was undoubtedly the news from San Domingo that the slaves were organizing a revolt. Now the colonial deputies tended to forget their hatred of the mulattoes, who were, after all, property-owners and often slave-owners too; now they became generously willing to compromise. On May 15, the Assembly accepted a bill proposed by Rewbell which gave full political rights to every mulatto both of whose parents were free. This was a very slight victory, since there were perhaps less than five hundred such mulattoes, but it was triumphantly greeted, and was ultimately significant.

News of continued slave insurrections in San Domingo, and the political domination of members of the Amis des Noirs after the Constitution of 1791 went into effect, led the National Assembly about a year later finally to grant full political rights to all free citizens of whatever degree of color. Despite the steady obstructionist tactics of the white colonists, who sent delegations to the Assembly to protest further extensions of rights to free men of

color, these rights were at last decreed on March 24, 1792. The colonists might argue that "these coarse men [the Negroes] are incapable of understanding liberty and of enjoying it with wisdom; this impudent law which would liberate them would be for us a sentence of death." In France it was now generally believed that the only way to save the colony of San Domingo was to give all free colored men their rights. Uniting all men of property against the revolt of property might save property, and would likewise salve consciences troubled by that "outrage and insult to philosophy and liberty," the lack of complete equality for free men.

Free colored men now had their rights; but what of colored men who were still in servitude? Here the Revolutionaries hesitated, even those who had been most active in fighting for the rights of free mulattoes and blacks. Even at the crucial points in the struggle for mulatto rights, little attention was paid to the slaves. At such times various members of the Amis des Noirs would occasionally suggest gradual emancipation, only to be greeted by silence or indignation from the majority of the Assembly. Even during the debates on the decree of March 24, 1792, only passing reference was made to the slaves as being "unfortunate." When Blangetty proposed gradual emancipation, the Assembly refused to discuss it. The most enlightened deputies respected the rights of property, and slaves were property; these bourgeois Revolutionaries must hesitate before laying hands on the property of men like themselves. As if by tacit understanding, the deputies left the question of the abolition of slavery in abeyance for nearly two years. While they stalled, the slaves continued their insurrections on San Domingo, and in France itself the pace of the Revolution was accelerated: the monarchy was overthrown and a Convention elected to give France a Republican constitution. "One spirit alone reigns here," a colonial deputy wrote home after the fall of the monarchy: "that is, horror of slavery and enthusiasm for liberty. It is a frenzy that . . . grows every day."

Even so the progress of abolition was slow. Not until February 4, 1794, during one of those rapturous sessions characteristic of Revolutionary Assemblies, was the decree of emancipation passed.

On the previous day, three new deputies from San Domingo had arrived: one was a former slave who had purchased his freedom, and another was a mulatto. They were the first colored men to represent the colonies, and their presence was greeted with acclaim. Their appearance apparently stirred the deputies to act in favor of the less fortunate colored men. "Since 1789," Camboulas cried, "aristocracy of birth and aristocracy of religion have been destroyed; but aristocracy of skin still remains. That too is now at its last gasp; now equality will be consecrated. A black man, a yellow man, are about to join this Convention in the name of equality." Another deputy demanded that the President of the Convention welcome the new deputies with a fraternal embrace.

It was not until the next day that the new deputies got a chance to speak. The ex-slave, Bellay, pledged Negro allegiance to the cause of the Revolution, and asked the Convention to declare slavery abolished. This demand prompted a motion from Levasseur: "When drawing up the Constitution of the French people," he declared, "we paid no attention to the unhappy negroes. Posterity will reproach us heavily for that. Let us repair the wrong—let us proclaim the liberty of the negroes." He added, "Mr. President, do not suffer the Convention to dishonor itself by a discussion." This speech was loudly acclaimed, and Lacroix proposed a draft decree:

> I demand that the Minister of the Navy and Colonies be instructed to despatch a bulletin at once to the colonies to give them the happy news of their freedom, and I propose the following decree: The National Convention declares slavery abolished in all the colonies. In consequence, it declares that all men, without distinction of color, domiciled in the colonies are French citizens and enjoy the rights assured by the Constitution.

The Assembly rose in acclamation, and the President pronounced the abolition of slavery amidst applause and cries of "Long live the Republic!" a thousand times repeated. The promises of the Declaration of the Rights of Man were fulfilled, and as Grégoire said, another "great clearing in the forest of abuses" had been made.

EDITORIAL

The United States has committed itself to institutional education beyond all historical precedent or contemporary example. The ideal that it has set for itself is education for all on all levels—elementary, secondary, and advanced. The multiplication and diversification of schools in our time almost passes credibility. Few of them know any problem of securing students sufficient to utilize their entire resources of instruction and living accommodations. The prospect of future enrollments threatens to make present facilities altogether inadequate within a decade. Every phase of this problem presents peculiar difficulties, but there is no aspect that demands more thoughtful consideration and more decisive action than that of maintaining the faculties of private institutions of higher learning.

There is no question of the superiority of the privately endowed over the tax supported institution. Each has its place in the national system of education; neither can be dispensed with. At the moment, however, the former is in the more desperate financial situation. If it is hard to convince legislators that faculty salaries at the state university must be held to a certain ratio with rising costs of living, nevertheless there is a reservoir of public funds to draw on. The private university, on the other hand, must live on income from its endowment; expenditures above income in sight must wait on new funds furnished by private donors, only the income from these funds being available for budgeting.

At a time of unprecedented national wealth no professional class has so low a financial standing or so unpromising a financial outlook as the teachers of privately endowed colleges and universities. The tidal wave of enrollment even now sweeping in will make demands for instructional personnel never known before. Every capable teacher now in service must be retained and vast faculty additions must be made to carry the load. The problems of retention, replacement, and recruiting for the future are critical. And seldom in the past has the privately endowed institution been more poorly supplied with inducements to attract and hold the most talented to the teaching profession.

Teaching is, of course, not merely a profession; it is a way of life, with its own attractions and its own rewards beyond the financial. Colleges and universities have never before had occasion to

feel themselves in competition with the other professions, with industry, and the public service. There were always enough properly trained young men drawn to scholarship and the academic life to take care of the needs of higher education when only a fraction of the population looked beyond the high school. It is different today. The academic life still exerts a powerful attraction, but the superior rewards proffered to young people with superior talents and training draws most of them into other fields of endeavor.

The problem transcends the personal. The professions, industry, and the public service must have multitudes of young people of superior talents and training; they too offer desirable ways of life, with rewards at least commensurate with services rendered and with almost unbounded scope for ambition. They have not succeeded in finding anywhere near enough candidates to satisfy current needs. To meet their requisitions colleges and universities must abandon hope of retaining for faculty recruitment most of the best products of their own training, since the best financial inducements they can offer spell sacrifice too hard for most to accept. But as trained personnel is diverted from the teaching profession, the problem of training the rising generation becomes more and more acute. It becomes a public problem of the first magnitude. By no fault of its own a chief source of supply of trained minds is being rendered less and less capable of supplying trained minds for a future in dire need of them.

The problem is ultimately a financial one, one which the public must recognize and act on without delay. Surely it is not seriously believed that we can do with less education than is now available, or with education of a lower quality. It is even now a difficult undertaking to employ a highly qualified instructor or assistant professor in any subject. A faculty submerged in financial worries cannot be expected to do the best teaching of which it is capable. It is an ungraceful conclusion, but it must be understood that the future of private education depends on enhanced faculty salaries. If private institutions of higher learning are not enabled to relieve the financial necessities of their present faculty members, and to achieve a better bargaining position for replacements and additions, their day is done, and with the loss of their historic leadership the quality of national education will suffer a sad decline.

T. H. E.

Principles of International Politics

A Review by ARTHUR S. MILLER

Arthur S. Miller, A.B. (Willamette University) '38, LL.B. (Stanford) '49, Sterling Fellow, Yale Law School, '49-'50, is Associate Professor of Law, his specialization being international law. Dr. Charles O. Lerche, Jr., is Associate Professor of Political Science.

Here is a book which fulfills in admirable fashion two ostensibly contradictory purposes: As a basic college text it provides insight into the complexities of international political relationships; and as a relatively brief but nevertheless complete exposition of world politics it serves as a first-rate book for the general reader, the person who would attempt an understanding of what governments do in the world today.[1] For both types of readers the book fills a real need.

If there is one fact in mid-twentieth-century America which is utterly clear and which meets no significant dissent, it is that the United States is totally committed to full and complete participation in world affairs. And it is not merely as a participant that this country must act—it must provide leadership for that half of the world made up of the free nations. The well-known advances in technology which have made Wendell Willkie's notion of "one world" a factual reality if not a political unit have, when combined with such other factors as population growth, anticolonialism, economic development, and the advent of thermonuclear weapons, brought a host of new problems. It is with these problems that our national political and administrative leaders must grapple on a day-to-day basis.

But under the American scheme of government it is scarcely possible for national leaders to make important policy decisions internationally unless—and until—they have backing at least in general from the national community. Some sort of workable consensus must exist, in other words, as a factual predicate for taking external action. It is here that the American citizens have a duty—a strong personal duty which is part of the payment for the rights they enjoy—to understand what is going on in the world, to know the problems the President and the Secretary of State face, to provide the bulwark of public opinion for American actions in the world community. And it is here that Dr. Lerche's book makes an important contribution to the literature. It brings home in clear and lucid prose the fundamental concepts of international politics, sketches the basic sources and aspects of international conflict, indicates the rôle that the United Nations and other supranational organizations play, and discusses important problem areas. This is done without the ponderous style normally associated with academic publications and without a single footnote appearing anywhere in the book.

Basically optimistic in tone, the book thus provides a platform for viewing the world political panorama set against the author's belief that some workable accommodation can and will be made between the forces of the free and Soviet worlds. Lerche is not a prophet of doom—he does not think that the human race will commit suicide—yet he recognizes sore points and areas of tension.

[1] *Principles of International Politics.* By Charles O. Lerche, Jr. New York, Oxford University Press, 1956. xi, 432 pp. $5.00.

For the person who would learn more about what may be the most important subject matter of this time *Principles of International Politics* is heartily recommended. For use as a basic text in a class in international politics or international relations it is again recommended. For both types of readers the book will provide insight into complex international matters and will provide a basis for further study in particularized areas. To this latter end the author has appended a select bibliography of some of the better references.

Peachtree Parade

A Review by CARLTON NUNAN

Carlton Nunan, B.Ph. '31, A.M. '32, is Assistant Professor of English and a native of Atlanta. Ernest Rogers, B.S. '20, was recently featured in a Reader's Digest *article, "The Most Unforgettable Character I've Met," reprinted in this volume, by James Saxon Childers, Editor of* The Atlanta Journal.

"When you mention Peachtree, you're speaking of the street I love," declares Ernest Rogers, unofficial Mayor of Peachtree Street, in the opening sentence of *Peachtree Parade*.[1] And thus is struck the keynote of the book, for throughout its 221 pages, Mr. Rogers reminisces fondly about some of the people, places, and incidents which have helped to make up the history of Atlanta since he graduated from Emory and "one day back in November, 1920 . . . took a seat on the rim of the *Journal's* copy desk instead of stopping a block further up the street to accept an office job with a large insurance company."

A long-term resident of Atlanta will read with nostalgia many of the chapters, and a newcomer will find in its pages a quick way to a partial understanding of the spirit of the city. Though a native interested in a balanced account might wish that Mr. Rogers had omitted or at least given less space to some materials—for example, one gets the impression that drinking is the major pastime in the town, followed closely by night-clubbing and theatrical entertainment—and given more space to other aspects of the life of the city, such as educational, religious, cultural, and civic activities, Mr. Rogers' picture is accurate as far as it goes. After all, he does not profess to be writing a social history, but merely indulging in what the jacket calls "Rollicking Recollections of Atlanta's Favorite Columnist."

The first two chapters are crammed with brief and interesting tidbits about real estate values, churches, clubs, residential sections, and the beauty of Atlanta women. Concerning the latter, Mr. Rogers includes some verse and then comments: "I was considerably younger than I am now when these lines were written, but I see no reason whatsoever to change my opinion. The only difference is that now the middle-aged women look better to me than they did thirty years ago."

Lively sketches of outstanding newspaper men who once worked on the *Journal*—Harllee Branch, Sr., Ward Greene, Erskine Caldwell, Ward More-

[1] *Peachtree Parade.* By Ernest Rogers. Atlanta, Tupper and Love, 1956. xvi, 221 pp. $3.00.

house—are found in a chapter called "Covering Dixie Like the Dew." Several hilarious practical jokes perpetrated by newspaper people are also recounted with relish.

In one chapter Mr. Rogers relates with characteristic humor his experiences while interviewing celebrities, in another the early days of radio station WSB, and in a third the careers of Bobby Jones and his "Boswell," O. B. Keeler.

The humanitarian aspects of Atlanta life are suggested in accounts of the charitable activities of the Variety Club and of the way the heart of Atlanta responded to an appeal for funds to aid Joe Kelley, an Atlanta high school teacher who was forced to retire when stricken with multiple sclerosis.

Famous murder cases are recalled. Mr. Rogers tells of Governor John M. Slaton's decision to commute Leo Frank's death sentence to life imprisonment, although "he knew that by commuting the sentence . . . he was placing a revolver to his temple and blowing out his political brains." Other murders discussed include the Bert Donaldson and Peggy Refoule cases.

In the chapter "Delicious and Refreshing" Mr. Rogers discusses the careers of the Candlers—Bishop Warren A. Candler, Asa G. Candler, Sr., and his five children. A chapter on *Gone with the Wind* tells of Margaret Mitchell's early days on the *Journal*, of how she came to write the novel, of its success as a book and as a motion picture, of Miss Mitchell's distaste for publicity, and of her tragic death.

Perhaps these words from the final chapter describe best what the author was seeking to express in the book: "To me Peachtree Street has been the red carpet rolled out by a warm and hospitable city inviting me to partake of her best . . . to learn her secrets and enjoy her confidences . . . to know her people and hold them to my heart."

The Government and Administration of Georgia

A Review by JAMES A. MACKAY

James A. Mackay, A.B. '40, LL.B. '47, Lecturer in Law, is engaged in the general practice of law in Decatur, Georgia, and has served as Representative from DeKalb County to the General Assembly in the 1951-52 and 1955-56 sessions. The volume reviewed was written in collaboration by Cullen B. Gosnell, Professor of Political Science, and C. David Anderson, A.B. '50, Instructor of Social Studies and Chairman of the Department of Social Studies, Emory-at-Oxford.

There is a striking paradox in state government throughout America today. On one hand, the state as a political subdivision is mushrooming in terms of budgets, taxation, and in its effect on the lives of its individual citizens. Yet, on the other hand, there is a widespread belief that the Federal government is chipping away at the power and authority of the individual state to regulate its affairs.

In the Southern region "States Rights" is a potent political battle cry. Why has there been a decline in the power and prestige of the state as a political subdivision—or has there been such a decline?

Cullen B. Gosnell and C. David Anderson have produced a work which is timely and which will help citizens find their own answers and help them understand the government and administration of the State of Georgia.[1] In it they can discover the strengths and weaknesses of the Empire State of the South.

The authors have drawn heavily on the various publications of the departments of the state government, and the data compiled will be of value for many years to come. Nowhere else can so much useful and pertinent information be found in one volume concerning matters relevant to state government in Georgia.

The thoughtful reader will be most interested in those portions of the text where the authors point out weaknesses and suggest corrective measures.

Their plea for constitutional revision, which would put a stop to writing legislation into the constitution, is important and urgent. They cite the fact that 130 amendments were added to the constitution of 1945 in the first ten years after its adoption.

The recommendation that the governor be given more rather than less power runs counter to the thinking of many persons active in Georgia government. If statehouse officials were elected by popular vote, this suggestion would receive serious consideration. Where a governor can win office with little more than one-third of the total vote cast, under the county unit system, as is now the case, there are persuasive arguments as to why the governor's powers should not be increased. The plea for reorganization of the executive department, however, is sound.

Since this reviewer's experience has been in the legislative branch of state government, the recommendations regarding the legislative branch are of particular interest to him. That the actual structure of the General Assembly should be revised is true. Such a revision is unlikely, however, in the immediate future.

The recommendations of the authors as to strengthening and improving the legislative process are timely. The creation of a legislative council, the reduction in the number of committees, the use of up-to-date voting devices, the placing of legislators on a straight salary, and the regulation of lobbying may be realized before long. Already an electric voting device has been installed in the House chamber and committees of the Senate have been drastically reduced. Unquestionably the product of the General Assembly will improve as the legislative process is strengthened.

The authors of the present study have produced a real aid to those interested in improving the government and administration of Georgia. Working politicians and citizens alike are looking for more information and constructive suggestions in this field.

The state, as a political subdivision, can retain and regain its power and authority over its affairs if its people measure up to their responsibilities. This book will help them.

[1] *The Government and Administration of Georgia.* By Cullen B. Gosnell and C. David Anderson. *American Commonwealths Series.* New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1956. xix, 403 pp. $4.95.

Emory Sources & Reprints*

A Review by THOMAS D. COBB

Thomas D. Cobb, A.B. and M.A. (Mercer) '28, Ph.D. (Emory) '54, for two years has been Professor of English and Chairman of the Department of English, Berry College, Mount Berry, Georgia; is in the summer of 1956 to become Associate Professor of English and Assistant to the Registrar, Georgia State College of Business Administration, Atlanta.

In editing President Longstreet's inaugural address given at Emory College, Oxford, Georgia, in 1840, Dean Ward in his excellent Introduction very properly accorded only a glance at Longstreet's varied career as lawyer, politician, and author of *Georgia Scenes;* only a nod towards Emory's early struggles; and rightly focused attention upon the theory of education which begot not only Emory, Mercer, and Oglethorpe in Georgia during the 1830's, but also scores of other institutions throughout the country. This theory of education, spreading to America from Western Europe, preached the merits of exercising "HEAD, HEART AND HAND—ONE AND INSEPARABLE," to enable the poor to secure an education and the sons of the rich to "form habits of industry and self-reliance."

Without question Dean Ward is right in labeling the manual labor idea "an educational fad popular in the 1830's;" but perhaps he is only partially accurate in asserting that because of the youth and ineptness of the workers it "did not prove to be financially self-supporting." True, the vast majority of such colleges have later adopted other means of support. But the feasibility of the plan is attested in 1956 by such institutions as Berea, Oberlin, Park College in Missouri, Blackburn in Illinois, and Berry in Georgia. The ideal represented by Cincinnatus still thrives in America. Indeed, as President Longstreet said, "What were Fulton's genius, unassisted by Fulton's hands?"

The fact that this document is known to be extant in only two copies, adds to its scholarly appeal. But Longstreet's Inaugural Address is of notable significance in underlining an important phase not merely of Emory's evolution but also of the growth of educational philosophy in the Western World.

Mr. Harwell's presentation of a facsimile of the *Southern Collegian's* "Half-Sheet Extra" on the death of Washington College's distinguished president, Robert E. Lee, serves several purposes. It reminds us that, unlike many great men, Lee was generously appreciated by his own contemporaries, regarded, in fact, as "the foremost American of the wondrous century in which he lived." It gives us the flavor of the quaint Victorian journalism found even in college newspapers in 1870, while at the same time demonstrating that student editors then were far more able wielders of prose than their modern counterparts. It brings together in one place the resolutions adopted by student literary societies at Washington College, by the faculties of that college and of neighboring

**Emory Sources & Reprints: Address Delivered at his Inauguration, 10th February, 1840.* By Augustus B. Longstreet. Edited by Judson C. Ward, Jr. Series IX, No. 2, 1955; *The Death of Lee, "Southern Collegian," October 15, 1870.* With an Introduction by Richard Barksdale Harwell. Series IX, No. 3, 1955. The Library, Emory University. $.75 each.

V. M. I., and by the "officers and soldiers of the Confederate Army, resident in Rockbridge [County]."

Concerning the Introduction, there is only one legitimate complaint: Mr. Harwell's failure to tell us more about Lee's considerable achievement as a college president. It would have been appropriate, perhaps, to reverse the proportions of emphasis he gives Lee as a soldier and as an educator, for the average reader is well posted on the military record of the general but knows virtually nothing of his accomplishments as a college executive.

Wonders of Science

A Review by RUTH COX LANTZ

Ruth Cox Lantz, A.B. '34, M.A. in Speech (Michigan) '42, is founder-editor of The Shepherdess, *a magazine for the minister's wife. Webb B. Garrison, Ph.B. '40, B.D. '49, who writes for young people under the pen name of "Gary Webster," is a staff member, Division of the Local Church, Methodist Board of Education, Nashville.*

Wonders of Science is much more than a scientific book of interesting and unusual facts; it is a book filled with descriptions of "Mysteries that Point to God," as the subtitle claims.[1] The last paragraph of each chapter and the last chapter of the book bring the reader face to face with the Architect of the Universe who has planned a wonderful place where man can live. In an age when most people put their faith in science and scientific knowledge, Gary Webster dares to say, "Science has no answers." The function of science is to search out truth. Science can analyze and measure; but it is the function of religion to answer the *whys* of what the scientist discovers. Religion asserts with faith that the universe was created by a loving and ever-working God and Father.

In the first chapter, the author sets forth his thesis: "It is the burden of this volume that part of the present dilemma of society is due to the fact that many persons have lost a vital sense of wonder at the glory and care of God."

In the next ten chapters he describes ten natural phenomena which he relates directly to an Infinite Plan that makes the life of man on this earth possible. The author discusses such things as light, water, air, photosynthesis, gravity, salt, and lightning in a way to show the reader how much scientists know about them, but also how much more there is still to learn. As in some of his other writings, he dips back into the history of knowledge about these things. He tells, for instance, how Joseph Priestley discovered in the latter half of the eighteenth century that air was not one of the four basic elements of the world as the Greeks had thought.

From a wealth of knowledge and research, the pages are filled with lesser-known facts about common phenomena: a breeze blowing over a square mile of water warmed by the sun can pick up as much as 5,000 tons of vapor in a single hour; energy from the sun falling on an acre of land for a year in the

[1] *Wonders of Science: Mysteries that Point to God.* By Gary Webster (Webb B. Garrison). New York, Sheed & Ward, 1956. 135 pp. $2.50.

temperate zone is equivalent to the energy yield of some 600 tons of anthracite coal. Such graphic and unusual facts make the reading interesting.

I wish the author could have simplified some of his scientific terminology. I believe boys, especially, of junior high and early high school age, would be interested in the subject matter; but most of them would find the reading rather difficult. It is the kind of book, however, that would make good family reading with older children where there is a chance to discuss the ideas.

For older teen-agers especially those sophisticates who have lost their sense of wonder at the world about them, and for those who feel there are no new things to discover, here is an eye-opening book which will challenge them to a broader and deeper concept of the world. For any who may doubt the existence of a wise God who carefully plans for his children, here is a book which will open new vistas of understanding.

To Alexander Pope

By JOHN C. STEPHENS, JR.

Fair Virtue's Bard! who lashed an age to shame
And gloried in a moral critic's name,
Thy trenchant verse yet lives to ridicule
Prevailing vice, and show a fool's a fool.
Invidious Pride still rages to be great,
Deceit and ignorance steer ships of state;
Intolerance roars through legislative halls;
By politicians' schemes a nation falls.
See Avarice shine in chromium-plated cars,
Worship at Mammon's shrine, grow fat on wars.
Now little men, with want and fear oppressed,
Cry out for peace, and seek in vain for rest.
Mechanic doom hangs over us the while
We bicker down this earth's last tortuous mile.
Thy clear-eyed precepts, Pope, right reason's way,
Are just as proper now as in thy day,
To prove proud man, in atom darkness hurled,
The glory, jest, destroyer of the world.

A Note on the Frontispiece

The fine pottery bust of George Whitefield was presented to Emory University's collection of Wesleyana by Mrs. Charles Howard Candler. Whitefield succeeded the Wesleys as leader of the Oxford Methodists, and in 1738 followed the Wesleys on a missionary journey to Georgia and was appointed minister at Savannah. In 1740 he founded Bethesda Orphanage there. Differing doctrinally from John Wesley, he became the leader of the Calvinistic branch of Methodism. On evangelistic tours through America, Great Britain, and Ireland he drew great audiences by his oratorical and histrionic powers. He died and was buried at Newburyport, Massachusetts. John Wesley, with whom Whitefield had remained on terms of personal friendship, preached his funeral sermon in London on November 18, 1770. This was reprinted in *Emory Sources & Reprints,* Series VIII, 1953, edited by Richard Barksdale Harwell. The bust was modelled by Enoch Wood (1759-1840), proprietor of a pottery works at Burslem in Staffordshire. On the back is a roundel with the following inscription stamped in the paste: "THE REV^{D} / GEORGE WHITFIELD / died Sept 30, 1770 / aged 56 / ENOCH WOOD SCULP / BURSLEM". The bust is a strong example of realistic portraiture. It stands 13½" high.

EMORY UNIVERSITY

ATLANTA

Philosophy at Emory University

With the expansion of its departmental staff to four full-time members, and the participation of several instructors on a part-time basis, the Department of Philosophy will this fall begin an expanded graduate program leading to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The purpose of this program is to prepare, not merely narrowly specialized thinkers, but well-trained teachers of philosophy for the liberal arts colleges of our region. Though it involves a quality of scholarship as high as can be desired, the program therefore avoids an overemphasis upon changing intellectual fashions, and emphasizes the mastery of those basic fields of philosophy—particularly the history of Western thought, logic, the theory of knowledge, metaphysics, and ethics—which will enable students to organize and give purpose to their college studies, and to give them a critical and constructive understanding of Western culture. The Department possesses particular strength in cosmology and the philosophy of religion.

The graduate program in philosophy is carried out in close coöperation with the Institute of the Liberal Arts, which is concerned with similar purposes. As graduate work in related fields such as the theological develops, it will permit students to work in these as well. By combining instruction of a high degree of technical excellence with a continuing concern with the great issues of intelligence and life, we hope to contribute, in depth and in breadth, to higher education in the South.

A statement prepared by
the Department of Philosophy